

Social Process In Hawaii

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Forward— <i>The Editors</i>	3
Sociological Studies in Wartime Hawaii— <i>Andrew W. Lind</i>	5
Through the Peepsight of a Grocery Store— <i>Hester Kong</i>	11
A study of Civilian Morale, 1944— <i>Bernhard Hormann</i>	17
Census Notes on the Negroes in Hawaii Prior to the War— <i>Romanzo Adams</i>	25
The Negro Soldiers in Kahuku— <i>Judy Kubo</i>	28
Violations of the Racial Code in Hawaii— <i>Shirley Abe</i>	33
Islander's Reflections on Mainland Japanese— <i>Anonymous</i>	39
Social Problems of Hawaii as Revealed Through the Letters of Dorothy Dix— <i>Barbara Boun</i>	50
Hawaii's Wartime Health and Social Research <i>Bernhard Hormann</i>	59
Medical Practice During the First Eighteen Months of the War— <i>Ah Chin L. Lam</i>	64
Servicemen in Hawaii—Some Impressions and Attitudes Toward Hawaii— <i>V. Cabell Flanagan</i>	75
A Typical Day in the War Research Laboratory— <i>Andrew W. Lind</i>	86
Change of Attitudes Among Plantation Workers— <i>Kimie Kawahara Lane</i> <i>Caroline Ogata</i>	93
Consequences of Evacuation of Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast of the United States— <i>John A. Rademaker</i>	98
The Effect of War on Inter-Racial Marriage in Hawaii— <i>Otome Inamine</i> <i>Phyllis Kon</i> <i>Yan Quai Lau</i> <i>Marjorie Okamoto</i>	103

FOREWORD

This is the second issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* prepared during the period of World War II. Volume VII was ready for publication just prior to Pearl Harbor, but the exigencies of war prevented its appearance before June, 1942. The first issue to be prepared and actually published during the war encountered even greater wartime restrictions and did not reach the public until the summer of 1944. The present issue, which combines Volumes IX and X is likewise a product of the war and utilizes the theme of Volume VIII, "The Impact of War upon Hawaii."

The reader may be interested in the psychological atmosphere within which the articles of this and the last issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* were written. The walls of the university offered no refuge from the sights and sounds of war and the students felt constantly under the necessity of justifying their existence. When the university reopened after the Blitz in February, 1942, the student body was cut to about a third of its pre-war size. Professors and students immediately joined the armed services or applied for defense work on the Island, as the need for workers in Hawaii after December 7 was as acute as the need for servicemen. But a few students continued to carry their schedules at the University while working on full time jobs. This of course practically closed sport and club activities on the campus. Only a few student organizations continued to function.

The Sociology Club fortunately was able to survive the war. Evening meetings ceased and late afternoon discussions, lectures, and socials were kept at a minimum. Instead, informal luncheons, to which all brought their lunches, were held on the lawn under some shady tree. These "Luncheon-Bull-Sessions" gave the students opportunities to get together and discuss some of the problems in the community. The noon hour was also reserved for speeches and lectures by community leaders. Time was limited but the club managed to function.

Our Sociology faculty staff also had its difficulties. With many possible courses to offer, only two staff members were available, until the recent appointment of Dr. John Rademaker. Despite the limitations in personnel and the increased demands upon them by civilian and military agencies, the Sociology staff established a War Research Laboratory to note some of the more significant social changes wrought by the war in this community. Its activities are described in one article in this issue of *Social Process*, and several additional articles are based upon materials drawn from the War Research Laboratory.

The problems involved in publishing *Social Process* were likewise intensified. Many citizens in the community, and not a few of the students also were impatient with "academic discussion when we should be busy winning the war." Not only were some of our best students drawn into the Services or into defense work, but those who remained in school were impelled to spend

their spare time in war work. The atmosphere of the community was frankly not conducive to objective research.

The difficulties faced in military censorship were equally disconcerting. In most instances the deletions required by censorship were relatively unimportant as to length and content; and yet the uncertainty as to where the red pencil might fall gave the editors many anxious moments. This hurdle was removed before the present issue of *Social Process* was ready for the press. Increased costs of printing and the scarcity of paper have added to the headaches of the *Social Process* business staff.

There have been compensations, however, in working on *Social Process* in wartime. Hawaii was never a more interesting place in which to live and to study sociology. Social experiments have been taking place before our eyes. The articles which follow record some of the observations made upon these experiments.

—The Editors

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN WARTIME HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Hawaii has long been noted for its ability to assimilate alien peoples and cultures, but World War II is bringing in its wake a series of new and disturbing forces which seriously threaten to overwhelm the social order of the Islands. Pearl Harbor may indeed have marked the close of an epoch in Hawaii's history as it did, in another sense, in the life of the nation. The war, within the short space of three and a half years, has probably brought to Hawaii more new people and more discordant conceptions about the islands than all the previous 160 years since Captain Cook. To observe, measure, analyze, and perhaps predict the course of this "second revolution" in Hawaii has been the purpose of the War Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii since its creation two years ago.

Rapid, if not revolutionary change as a consequence of the war is, of course, not peculiar to Hawaii; but the opportunity and the obligation to subject these new trends to scientific study are doubtless greater here than elsewhere. The more manageable size of the Territory and its insularity makes effective research possible in Hawaii while the very magnitude and complexity of the problem in most mainland communities discourages even the effort. On the other hand, the impact of new forces and strange peoples are all the more disorganizing in an island community of limited size, and scientific research into the operation of these forces becomes in Hawaii virtually a necessity. If Hawaii is to escape from the worst consequences of the war, its social strategy for the present and the future must be buttressed by as substantial a program of research as that which has protected and sustained the economic institutions of Hawaii in times of crisis, as typified by the experiment stations of the sugar and pineapple industries.

Early in 1942 steps were taken to establish at the University of Hawaii a center for investigation and analysis of the more important effects of the war upon the civilian community, and a program of study has been conducted continuously since that time. This program grew out of the demands of various civilian and military agencies, which often only the sociology department, with its long history of research into local problems of population, immigration, cultural survivals and change, and race relations, was in a position to supply. At the same time, the sociologists launched upon a more intensive study of the war-time problems of civilian morale and race relations. Beginning in the fall of 1942, two members of the staff, Mr. Lind and Mr. Hormann, were released for half-time research; and a sum of \$2000 was made available by the Board of Regents on November 15, 1942, for clerical and research assistance. In July of 1943 this program was accorded official status as the War Research Laboratory; a full-time secretary was provided; and an annual budget of \$2500 was allotted for part-time and student assistants.

The early phases of the research program were chiefly devoted to the tasks of defining the problems to be investigated and of accumulating the basic information. Any study of the human problem in Hawaii must take into account the factor of race and race relations, and quite naturally this was one of the first areas to be selected for study in the War Research Laboratory. The extensive background of research conducted during the past twenty years in the field of race relations by members of the sociology staff at the University gave an added justification to the choice of the initial topic for investigation. Moreover, the widespread concern expressed in the early months of the war lest the effective functioning of the civilian community be undermined by the outbreak of underlying racial tensions in the community gave an added urgency to the study. Thus the study of race relations was at the same time a study of civilian morale.

Methods and Procedures

The special conditions which prevail in war time made it difficult to follow ordinary procedures in the actual collection of data. Military censorship had effectively "blacked out" certain basic types of information such as the growth and movement of population, and the fear of spreading rumors cast a pall of restraint over many normal channels of information. The Japanese community, in particular, was under a cloud of suspicion which has persisted in many areas down to the present date. Specialized techniques, appropriate to the conditions, had to be evolved for securing the necessary data; and a considerable amount of time during the first two years of operation of the laboratory were devoted to methodology.

The startling events of December 7th stimulated many people to record in diaries and letters what they heard and saw and experienced; and among the most valuable sources of information regarding the early impact of the war were the informal, unsolicited accounts of what seemed to happen during those days as recorded by housewives, professional men, students, and others with a disposition to write. After the climactic tenseness of the first six months of the war, culminating in the Battle of Midway, a considerable number of observers from various walks of life were persuaded to make such records available to members of the staff. These records, numbering 124, vary greatly in their insight and objectivity, but in the aggregate provide an invaluable record of the state of mind of a significant portion of the community.

The limited funds available to the laboratory, as well as the manpower shortage in the Territory, made it impossible to secure enough research assistants to cover the field. Instead it became necessary to rely upon a very small corps of part-time assistants in Honolulu and upon the voluntary assistance of a considerable number of collaborators throughout the Territory. Some eighty former University students and others qualified by interest and position in the various professions have given freely of their time and experience in reporting significant develop-

ments in the field of race relations and civilian morale as they have come to their attention. These informal reporters are scattered over the various islands and represent the middle and upper strata of island society from plantation managers to office clerks. Other techniques, to be described later, were used for tapping the attitudes and opinions in the lower economic and social levels. The reports provided in this manner are of especial value in spotting crucial points and issues and for reflecting trends in community sentiment.

The small staff of part-time assistants and of university students in sociology have been responsible for the more systematic gathering of information on specific issues. For example, a series of interviews was conducted with some fifty clergymen in Honolulu in order to obtain their more detailed observations on the effect of the war on civilian morale. Similarly a series of individual and group interviews was held with several hundred school teachers in order to fund their experience with children in the class rooms. An equally large group of teachers on the other islands was encouraged to record their observations through special schedules. Other professions whose regular work brought them into close contact with the public, such as social workers, doctors, nurses, realtors, and lawyers, were likewise interviewed for their special experience.

Questionnaire and polling devices have been utilized effectively within certain restricted areas. The presence in Hawaii's population of sizable groups which do not speak the English language with facility, together with the war-time suspicions of unfamiliar investigators, have discouraged the wide scale use of these popular instruments of research. Questionnaire methods have been employed satisfactorily among University and high school students to tap the shifting sentiments and opinions not only among themselves, but also among the social and ethnic groups which they represent. At periodic intervals since the spring of 1943, significant samples have been obtained of public opinion on such issues as the conduct of the war, the existence of class and racial discrimination in Hawaii, martial law, and other wartime restrictions.

University students, under the direction of the Laboratory staff, have also participated in several opinion polls, the most recent of which is the city-wide Consumer Survey for the Office of Price Administration in Hawaii. Several commercial and governmental agencies in the community have requested similar studies, most of which have been regretfully declined because of our limited facilities.

Previous reports of the War Research Laboratory have emphasized the special devices evolved in the laboratory for indexing and organizing the substantial accumulation of raw materials. The index of newspaper items bearing upon Hawaii's experience in the war has been extended during the past year to cover feature articles, editorials, and letters in all four of the principal newspapers in Honolulu, in addition to all the local news items

in one of them. Similarly every sentence in each of the 8,000 pages (estimated) of the documents file of the War Research Laboratory has been indexed under one or more of the 835 categories utilized in our system of classification and analysis. The work of indexing all materials which come into the laboratory is an extremely laborious, but highly valuable part of the work of the research assistants.

Research Findings and Publications

Two years of methodical fact-gathering and analysis by the employed and volunteer staff of the War Research Laboratory have begun to yield valuable dividends during the past year. Several fields of inquiry have been explored to the point where publication of the findings is justified.

Two articles describing the work and methods of the Laboratory have been prepared and accepted for publication in standard sociological journals. Mr. Hormann's article, "A Report on the War Research Laboratory in Hawaii," appearing in the February, 1945, issue of the *American Sociological Review* gives a detailed description of the work of the Laboratory since its inception. A companion article entitled, "Testing of Sociological Theory in Hawaii," shows how the science of sociology can be developed by the type of data gathered. It has been accepted for publication in *Social Forces*. A third article in the same series, prepared by Mr. Hormann, presents a theoretical discussion of the issues underlying opinion polls and morale studies. This article will be ready for publication during the fall of 1945.

Special interest has naturally focused upon the Japanese people, who throughout the war have continued to "be on the spot" in Hawaii; and a major research project has involved the study of the shifting relations between the local Japanese and the remainder of the population. A manuscript of 250 pages by Mr. Lind, summarizing the more important findings of the Laboratory on this crucial issue, has been announced for early publication by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This volume is an outgrowth and amplification of a preliminary study of forty-two pages entitled "The Japanese in Hawaii under War Conditions" published in 1943. Considerable public interest has developed about the reasons for the differential treatment of the Japanese in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast, and an article is now in preparation on this problem. Mr. Rademaker, because of his long research experience among the Japanese of the West Coast, is particularly qualified to deal with this problem. Mr. Rademaker is also summarizing some of his observations as community analyst at the Amache War Relocation Center.

The series of preliminary research studies under the title, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing," begun in 1944, has been continued and six have already appeared. These mimeographed publications are intended chiefly to acquaint our volunteer collaborators and other interested persons with some of the concrete findings of our research. The unsolicited comments re-

ceived suggest the value of this publication both for stimulating the interest of our reporters and for disseminating some of the preliminary research findings.

It has been a long time since I have read anything more interesting than the War Research Summary, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing," which you sent me this week Let me congratulate you on the very timely and useful material your office is sending out. If I could be of any service (as a reporter), I should be very glad to help out.—Rural public school principal.

During the past year three issues of this publication have appeared covering the following topics:

Report No. 4. Observations of University students of several racial groups on the relations of local people to Caucasian mainlanders, to the Negroes, and to the Japanese, including the Japanese conception of themselves.

Report No. 5. A summary of the responses of 780 University and high school students to a questionnaire covering attitudes toward the draft, military government in Hawaii, labor and strikes, Hawaii's military security, and interracial dating.

Report No. 6. A summary of the reactions in a sample of 576 persons of various ancestries and economic classes to the last important air raid alarm on November 17, 1944. This report covers the characteristic group reactions to a realistic crisis situation, together with a study of the types of rumors which emerge under such circumstances.

The last two of these reports are being revised for early publication in sociological journals where they will reach a wider audience. The materials for several additional reports have been accumulated and will be issued during the course of the next few months.

Much of the material gathered for the Laboratory has high news value, quite apart from other practical and scientific uses to which it may be put. Local newspapers have sought specific reports and articles, and whenever possible the staff has complied with these requests.

Early in the war, plans were formulated by members of the Laboratory staff for the publication of a volume on Hawaiian Race Relations in Wartime. It was felt that the Territory was under obligation to offer some accurate account of what had happened to the Hawaiian "melting pot" as a result of the war, "both as an indication of the state of civilian solidarity in a part of the battle front, and as a possible clue to what might be expected in other areas similarly situated." Considerable progress was made in the preparation of parts of such a manuscript, but it soon became apparent that changes were taking place so rapidly in the island situation that, at best, such a volume would be a progress report. Each new addition to the island population, particularly of elements such as the main

land defense workers and military personnel and of Negroes from continental United States, as well as important developments on the battle fronts or significant shifts in public opinion left their imprint upon the island pattern of race relations. Postponement of the enterprise until more of the facts were in seemed the only scientifically justifiable procedure, but the plans were never abandoned. Now that the active phases of the war have come to an end, the prospects of completing this study are considerably brighter, although the task has changed greatly in character in the meantime. A journal article, summarizing some of the salient features of this study, is now in preparation; and the preparation of the larger manuscript, which may extend to more than a single volume, should constitute the major writing task of the staff during the next year.

Several shorter manuscripts which contribute to the larger plan of study of race relations in war-time Hawaii have been well begun during the past year. A statistical analysis of interracial marriages and of births of mixed racial ancestries since the war has been completed through June, 1944; and this material should provide a valuable statistical supplement to the study. A spot sample study of real estate transactions in Honolulu since the war may be put to similar use.

Future of the War Research Laboratory

With the passing of the active phases of the war, the question arises as to the future of the War Research Laboratory. Actually, of course, the war did not end on V-J Day any more than it began with Pearl Harbor. September 1, 1945, marks the beginning of a new phase of the war, presumably the last phase; and new methods and objectives should be employed in the latter phases of the research program, which should continue until such time as this community has been more nearly restored to a peace-time basis.

Considerable time will be required to complete the research projects already under way, and some new studies covering the closing aspects of the war should be initiated. It is difficult to estimate the period of transition during which additional field work will be necessary, although six months would seem to be the minimum. The analyses and interpretations of researches already undertaken or projected will probably require at least an additional eighteen months. In the meantime a peace-time program of social research to capitalize upon the research gains acquired during the war should be instituted, and the facilities of the War Research Laboratory should be merged with a permanent Social Science Institute. As suggested earlier in this report, the task of meeting successfully the serious problems of social readjustment in post-war Hawaii will demand the services of scientists as competent and as numerous as those who labor in the biological and physical disciplines in Hawaii.

THROUGH THE PEEPSIGHT OF A GROCERY STORE

HESTER KONG

From a keen observation of incidents and conversations in one particular neighborhood store, the author, a sociology student, has been able to present an account indicative of happenings in Hawaii on December Seventh, 1941, and the days immediately following. The locale might have been any small neighborhood store in Honolulu. Miss Kong relates interestingly the various changes in attitudes, customs, and conditions directly affected by the outbreak of war.—Editors

Hawaii, where many different races and cultures meet, has been known as the "melting pot" of the Pacific in time of peace. What happened to these diverse racial and cultural elements when the war broke out? In this study, I have tried to observe the changes and tendencies as brought on by the war, through the "peepsight" of a grocery store. Most of the observations were made personally, but some were gathered with the help of the storekeeper and friends.

The grocery store is located in Palama District, Honolulu. This is a decidedly disorganized area and is often referred to as "rugged," a district "where most of the city's delinquents come from." Palama seems to have a different "air" from that of the better residential districts, which is not surprising in view of the crowded and generally decadent conditions.

This particular store has no immediate "running mates," for it is situated on a side road off the main thoroughfare. It is surrounded by homes which are structurally like the store. The owner is of Chinese ancestry and came to Hawaii from China over twenty years ago. He was trained as a tailor but later turned to storekeeping for economic purposes. He remodeled the house he was living in and set up one portion of it for the store.

Recalling old times the storekeeper said, "Before, long time in front store, all taro patch—get only one, two house." He also said that then there were mostly Hawaiian customers, and he, therefore, only had to know a little of the Hawaiian language to get along.

Today, many different racial groups are living in this area. Table I reflects the cosmopolitan character of the people who lived in Palama in 1940, as well as of the customers who traded at the store during a sample week period.

These figures show that on the whole, the different racial groups are quite well represented in the area studied. There is also a fair correlation of the percentages obtained from the census and the percentages obtained in the store.

It is also noteworthy that although the proprietor of the store is Chinese, the customers are as varied racially as the population of the area. Because of its immediate location, the store receives a disproportionate number of Korean and Puerto Rican customers.

Table I. Percentage Population Distribution by Race in Palama

Population Groups	Customer Sample	1940 Census
Japanese	28 %	38 %
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	19	18
Filipino	13	13
Chinese	13	12
Puerto Rican	16	---
Korean	10	---
Caucasian	1	3
Others	---	16*

*Puerto Ricans and Koreans were not separately listed in 1940

After Pearl Harbor

The days immediately following the attack were filled with anxiety and suspicion among the various groups in the vicinity of the store. Everyone was upset, and as a result many incidents occurred within and between the groups which revealed the tension. Heretofore, the Japanese were thought of as only another group among the many racial groups in Hawaii. On December 7, and during the days that followed, the Japanese became a very self-conscious group. Bitter words and aggressive acts were directed toward them, and wild rumors added to the suspicion of the other groups. The following incidents are a few that occurred in this particular area. They are indicative of the way human nature expresses itself under the strain of fear and insecurity.

A part-Hawaiian girl and a Chinese girl were sitting together talking. A Japanese man with a suitcase came out of a Japanese "camp" and the girls immediately phoned the police department, saying that they had spotted a suspicious character. When the man was questioned and his suitcase examined, the officials could not find any evidence of under-cover activity. The girls, still suspicious, were rather disappointed and felt that the officers had not searched carefully enough.

Other stories, such as of Japanese flashing signals from temple windows and burning secret papers, were widely spread. In one instance, it was said that a soldier pulled off a Japanese woman's kimono and tore it to pieces. Such rumors spread rapidly and alarmed the Japanese who immediately stopped wearing kimonos.

Customers would often try to determine whether the store was Japanese or not before entering. They would often refuse to patronize Japanese stores. Fear of food shortages resulted in further suspicion of the Japanese. As word went around that there might be a food shortage, there was a mad rush for goods. However, storekeepers were advised to sell only to regular customers and to limit sales to normal amounts. This, too, created a definite problem. The selling and limiting of goods were left to the discretion of the storekeepers. There were many who wanted to buy more than their share. Often the customers would

1. A group of houses built rather closely together, of the same general type, and usually housing people of the same ethnic group.

say, "I'm no Jap, why don't you sell me some more?" Since there were many Japanese stores, it was said that they were discriminating against other groups and selling only to Japanese in large quantities.

At one time there was a rice shortage. Numerous persons came to the store saying that the Japanese had known about the attack before December 7 and that they had stored their rice up for the duration. As a Hawaiian man said, "I'll bet if you went in any Jap's house, you can find rice all stacked up." A Japanese storekeeper remembers that he was accused by a Puerto Rican man of selling rice to Japanese only. "I was so mad I almost hit him," he said.

A Hawaiian woman who hated the Japanese very much would ridicule them, but always so that only the Chinese store keeper could hear her.

As one can gather from the above, strong antagonisms between the different racial groups were aroused, especially toward the Japanese.

Certain other immediate consequences of the war, as observed through the store, were less spectacular socially; but they are worth mentioning as affecting all the stores in Honolulu. For example:

Store hours have been shortened. Before the war the usual store hours were from 5:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. for seven days a week. Now the hours are less regular, the average being from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. with half day on Sundays. This may be due to shortages in merchandise as well as to blackout and curfew regulations. The owners are able to devote more time to their personal affairs today² than they ever were before the war. A Chinese storekeeper said, "Before, I no more time do any kind. Now me get time go moving picture and 'holo-holo'³ my friend house."

Since the war, customers have had more money to spend than they ever did before. One Japanese storekeeper said, "Not only the big people get plenty money, but the kids too." Children spend more money on candy and other sweets than ever before. A Filipino girl receives about two dollars almost every day for spending money from her generous Filipino friends. She contends: "I ask them and they give me, so why not?"

Prior to the administration of OPA prices, the tendency was toward higher prices as people were willing to pay for what they wanted regardless of the price. In one instance, a Filipino man wanted soda water. Since there was an acute shortage of bottles, the storekeeper would not allow him to take out the bottles. He said, "Oh, to hell with that; I'll bring back the bottles. Here is one dollar."

The scarcity of merchandise in the stores has caused many housewives to go out of their immediate neighborhoods in search of certain scarce items. Thus new faces, other than those from

2. This article was written in January, 1944.

3. Go for a visit, have "big time."

the immediate neighborhood, are constantly being seen in the store.

There are fewer charge accounts since December 7 due to the increase in wages, and since people are able and willing to pay cash. Most of the old charge accounts have been dissolved. Only in rare cases are old charge accounts retained. Moreover, many wholesale houses have stopped giving credit and the retail dealer must follow suit.

Before the war, in the Palama area, buying had been of a rather unplanned nature. People tended to buy only when the need arose and then only in small quantities. There was a particular Puerto Rican woman who, time after time, would come in asking for suggestions for supper at a late hour. There was also another part-Hawaiian woman who came in often on late Sunday afternoons trying to think of something suitable for supper. One Chinese girl cited an example of poor buying habits. She said, "The Filipino lady next to my house always comes over to borrow canned milk from me. Just imagine, she has a baby and yet she doesn't stock up on milk. She only cares for one day at a time."

War habits have changed, and people have more money to buy in larger quantities. However, little more thought seems to be put into the buying. There are still cases of last minute buying; in fact, more extreme cases appear since the store closes early. At one time a Portuguese lady came at 3:30 p.m. to ask to buy a can of milk. At another time a Haole soldier, claiming he was having a party, wanted Coca-colas at 8:00 p.m.⁴

On the whole, it seems that the Puerto Ricans and Filipinos put the least planning into their buying. The Japanese and Chinese tend to buy things in bigger quantities and do not resort very much to last minute buying.

Recent Social Trends

With the passing of time, the problems of personal and group interaction in Palama have necessarily changed. The initial suspicion and resentment toward the Japanese have largely disappeared; and the comments in the store reflect, rather, a concern for the changing relations between the sexes and the generations brought about by the war.

Since the war many servicemen have come into the area of observation, and many interesting facts and opinions were gathered through the peepsight regarding their relationship with the people. There have also been many changes in the lives of the people. Young girls have suddenly become grownups. Local boys have lost some of their girl friends to the newcomers. Parents have not been able to keep their daughters at home. On the whole, people have had more contacts with people from the mainland and, therefore, more topics for gossip and more worries.

Even an amateur observer would have been able to notice the attitudes of the people toward the servicemen, while the

4. This occurred during the period of complete blackouts.

actions of the servicemen toward the local people revealed interesting facts of race relations in this area. There were also expressions of real friendliness between the many groups based on common interests. The following observations tell the story in a more concrete personal manner:

There were two soldiers who seemed particularly attached to a group of single Filipino men because these men owned musical instruments. They would get together for musical sessions which both groups seemed to enjoy very much. There was another case where one soldier visited a Filipino family nearly every night. He usually spent his time talking with the daughters of the family, though occasionally the father joined in. They appeared very friendly and congenial.

Puerto Rican and Portuguese girls were most dated by the servicemen. Many of these girls were fourteen to sixteen years old, although they dressed and acted very mature. They usually went out in groups; that is, a group of girls with a few men. Perhaps the reason for this was that the girls were rather young and because of the old notion of "safety in numbers."

The servicemen are attracted to the girls in Palama perhaps because they are the only girls available. In some instances, however, the servicemen discover, or think they discover, in the rather fair skin and curly hair of the local girls important similarities to the girls and the women back home. One soldier came into the store with an elderly silver-haired Puerto Rican woman. He said, "You know, you look just like my Mom. How about me buying you some groceries, huh, Mom?"

As gathered from the conversations in the store, the general community conception of these girls who go out with servicemen is that they are of loose morals. One Japanese lady said, "If my daughter go out with the soldiers, I give good lickings." Another Chinese girl who works at the Navy Yard and knows many sailors said, "They are nice, but I don't want to be seen on the streets with them. People might get the wrong idea." She has worked over three years with sailors now, but has never gone out with them.

Further evidence that the service men are mingling with the different races in this particular area can be seen at the parties which are usually given to celebrate birthdays, weddings, or child baptisms. The local people usually invite servicemen and other fellow-workers from the mainland.

There were many interracial marriages before the war, and these were generally accepted by the community. Most numerous were the intermarrying of Koreans into the other races. There were at least four cases of Koreans married to Haoles, others to Filipinos, Japanese, and part-Hawaiians. Other interracial marriages included a Chinese to a Japanese, a Chinese to a Filipino, and a Filipino to a Japanese. These are only a few of the unusual mixtures. Marriages between the Hawaiians, Portuguese, and Puerto Ricans were very common.

Since the war, there have been an even greater number of interracial marriages. Among others are two Korean sisters, both

married to Haole sailors. One was pregnant before marriage. She remained to live with her parents while her sister moved to a different community. Her baby looks more like a Haole than a Korean. They are well liked by their friends. Her husband is generally accepted by the girl's family as well as by the community.

Another case of interracial marriage was between a Hawaiian woman and a Haole soldier. This woman had lived with her husband for over a year. They had a baby about two months old before the marriage took place. The general opinion was that they were married when they started to live together. Despite the circumstances, the marriage was celebrated with a *luau* (Hawaiian feast).

The talk in the store on this incident was surprisingly disinterested. The people seemed to feel that such things occur, so why get excited? The strongest remark heard came from a Chinese girl, who said, "Rather promiscuous, don't you think?"

The trend, apparently, is toward more and more interracial marriages. This trend is inevitable when groups of people come together and especially when the social code permits it.

The feeling between the races today as compared with that immediately after the outbreak of the war is distinctly more tolerant. The less resentful attitude toward the Japanese has already been mentioned, and the Japanese themselves seem to reciprocate this feeling. For instance, two elderly Japanese women came into the store and felt free to converse loudly in Japanese. There was another case where a Japanese man came home after being interned for about three months. The people's reaction was that he would not have been set free had he been guilty of any offense. One Chinese man said, "He does not look like the type to be able to do such things. He is so nice. The feller across the street may be capable to do such things, but not this man."

Summary

As these observations were made through the narrow "peep-sight" of a grocery store, they are limited in scope and depth. However, it was possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. The war has affected the race relationships, especially in the case of the Japanese. The antagonistic feeling toward the Japanese is not as keen now as it was after the "blitz," although it is still present.

2. Contacts of the Haole servicemen have affected mainly the Puerto Rican, Portuguese, and Hawaiian peoples, since in these families the ties have tended to weaken. The Japanese and Chinese families have retained sufficient ties and control to discourage the girls from having frequent and intimate relationships with the servicemen.

3. There is a trend toward more interracial marriages. This may not be due entirely to the breakdown of mores and family traditions but also to the rather tolerant public opinion toward interracial marriages.

A STUDY OF CIVILIAN MORALE, 1944

BERNHARD HORMANN

In the preceding issue of *Social Process* appeared "A Preliminary Study of Civilian Morale," by Andrew W. Lind, which was based on a questionnaire given to 275 University of Hawaii and 60 Punahou Senior Academy students early in March, 1943. The article summarized the data obtained through the questionnaire particularly in reference to knowledge and confidence and to interracial solidarity as important aspects of morale, and came to the conclusion that for the part of the population which was sampled by the questionnaire, i. e., "the limited portion of four racial groups which are enjoying benefits of higher education in Hawaii," morale was "reasonably high." The article also concluded, on the basis of the experience with this questionnaire, that "it is possible to obtain frank and relatively uninhibited responses from students on crucial issues by means of carefully phrased anonymous questionnaires," and urged that "it would seem desirable to submit similar questionnaires at periodic intervals, perhaps monthly, to the same groups of students in order to establish trends in the social weather of the community."

The War Research Laboratory of the University's Sociology Department has not found it possible to put into effect the last suggestion. This inability is entirely due to limitations of staff and to the pressing nature of other tasks, rather than to a subsequent loss of confidence in this device or to the lack of cooperation on the part of the schools. Instead of giving questionnaires at monthly intervals to the same groups of students in various parts of the Territory, the Sociology Department has been able to give questionnaires to fairly large groups of students at yearly intervals, in the spring of 1944 and again in the spring of 1945. In the latter case many questions were taken over from a questionnaire given in 1942, in which attention was directed particularly to the problem of interracial dating. By repeating questions in this way it is possible to become aware of certain trends. The 1945 questionnaire, which was given to two large University classes totalling over three-hundred students, has not yet been analyzed.

The present article¹ is based on the questionnaire given in April and May of 1944, when an attempt was made to broaden the area covered. The attempt was made to reach students on some of the outside islands and on rural Oahu, as well as in the city of Honolulu. Altogether 780 high school and University students answered anonymously our three-page questionnaire. The geographical regions not covered were rural Oahu, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, East Kauai, Niihau, and several parts of Hawaii, including Hilo. Two of the schools, Punahou and Kamehameha, are private schools.

They were distributed as follows:

1. A mimeographed version of the present study has appeared as report No. 5 of the War Research Laboratory's series, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing."

NUMBER QUESTIONED (BY SCHOOLS)

School	Male	Female	Total
University of Hawaii, mainly Freshmen	59	192	251
Punahou Academy, Seniors	25	37	62
Roosevelt High School, Seniors	27	24	51
McKinley High School, Seniors	59	47	106
Farrington High School, Seniors	45	63	108
Kamehameha School for Boys, Juniors	19	—	19
Waimea High School, Kauai, Seniors	26	13	39
Kohala High School, Hawaii, Seniors	29	26	55
Konawaena High School, Hawaii, Seniors	54	35	89
Grand Total	343	437	780

The students were asked to give their sex and ancestry, commonly referred to as race or nationality. After tabulating the results, it was discovered that certain ancestries were represented by so few students that separate analysis of their group replies was meaningless. Among these were the pure Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Porto Ricans. The following groups, however, were well represented and percentages have been worked out for them, showing the way each group answered each question:

	Male	Female	Total
Part Hawaiians	39	37	76
Haoles	35	45	80
Chinese	27	64	91
Japanese	191	267	458
Koreans	11	15	26

In planning this questionnaire no systematic attempt was made to set up the components of some composite attitude which people call morale. In using the term we had in mind rather the fact that morale is a useful general term which connotes the steadfastness with which people work towards a common end. While some people doing research on the problem of effective collective effort argue that such general terms as morale should be done away with, we believe that it is useful to keep a term which is used by students of the social psychology of military units, labor forces, athletic teams, nations at war, primitive peoples suffering from the impact of Western civilization, a term which thus indicates that there is something common about all these groups as they do or do not perform their tasks. We think of morale as a unitary thing referring neither to attitudes alone nor to external behavior alone, but to "the disposition of a group to act together toward a collective goal."²

From the point of view of this definition, we asked questions which we hoped would enlighten us, as did the questionnaire of the previous year, particularly on the morale of the people in Hawaii in regard to the war effort, but also on their morale in regard to a number of other matters, such as disposition to identify oneself with collective ends peculiar to Hawaii as a community, disposition to identify oneself with the purposes of one

2. Herbert Blumer, "Morale," in American Society in Wartime, William F. Ogburn, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp.217-218.

of the ethnic groups in Hawaii, etc. The existence and strength of such other morales is of course in itself significant in evaluating the morale of the people in regard to the war effort.

All questions were framed so as to be answerable in a categorical manner, but there was room for comments and in the directions at the beginning the students were encouraged to answer as "completely, frankly, and accurately as possible," and to "write in a comment, when you feel that it is necessary to explain your view."

The first ten questions could be answered either by yes, no, or no opinion, and dealt with "the present selective service policy in Hawaii whereby the draft is open to all regardless of race," the elimination of martial law as it might affect the security of Hawaii, the justification of strikes in wartime, the probability of further attacks on Hawaii, President Roosevelt's war policies, the desirability of a negotiated peace with Germany and with Japan, the desirability of dating between Oriental girls and Haole service men, the reopening of Chinese language schools after the war.

Then there were two questions in which the students were to indicate the answer they thought best from a list of choices. The two questions were: "Where would you most like to make your home after the war?" and "Which do you think is our best bet in view of the serious threat of national inflation?"

Part III asked the students to give the ethnic group they felt was called for by each question. The five questions were:

1. Which one group in Hawaii has thus far benefited the most from the war?
2. The members of which one group are most clannish, that is, stick together the most?
3. Which one group is most complacent about the war?
4. From which group do you hope to choose your husband or wife?
5. Indicate the groups to which your three best friends belong.

Only some of the points growing out of the analysis of the tabulated answers have been selected for presentation here. Limitations of time and space prevent further elaboration at the present time. In the case of several questions, their phrasing was such that the results have had to be thrown out as invalid. For instance, the question on inflation was ambiguous. It was intended, of course, to probe into the amount of awareness by students of what forces actually make for national inflation, but many students read it to mean what they personally could do to prevent a national inflation, if it actually did come, from injuring them individually. The possible choices were: real estate investments, war bond purchases, savings bank accounts, investment in jewelry. The percentage in each group which gave the supposedly correct answer, war bond purchases, was as follows:

Haoles	86.0 %
Koreans	84.6 %
Part Hawaiians	79.5 %
Japanese	70.5 %
Chinese	67.0 %

The differences in percentage may reflect the fact that the authorities have not succeeded in explaining clearly to all groups both the need to guard against national inflation and the means for preventing it. Or it may reflect differences in the degree of the lack of confidence in the financial stability of our government. It would be improper to suggest the correct interpretation in view of the fact that the question obviously did not convey any clearcut meaning.

The last question in the first group: "Do you believe Chinese language schools in Hawaii should never be allowed to reopen even after the war?" caused confusion because of its phrasing in the negative, so that the answer yes meant that should not be allowed to reopen, whereas *no* implied that the student was in favor of having them reopen. Furthermore, such a question would have gained in significance if it had been coupled with a similar one on the Japanese language schools given on a different questionnaire to the same or a similar group of students at about the same time. Then there might have been ways of interpreting the fact that in the present study only

38% of the Japanese, while
46% of the Chinese
50% of the Koreans
55% of the Haoles and
57% of the Part Hawaiians

were in favor of a reopening of the Chinese language schools. Does this mean that the Japanese most want the probable post-war policy towards the Japanese language schools to be extended also to the other language schools? Does it mean that the Chinese are sensitive about their position in the larger community or does it mean that the Chinese students are genuinely disinterested in language schools, perhaps due to personal experience with them as school children? Does it mean that the Haoles and Part Hawaiians are genuinely liberal towards immigrant institutions? All these questions the data do not permit us to answer.

For some of the other questions our results are a little more clear-cut. Some of these results will now be given.

The Draft

The students agreed almost unanimously that they approved "of the present selective service policy in Hawaii whereby the draft is open to all regardless of race."

Yes 96 %
No 2 %
Don't know 2 %

Every racial group approved by more than 90%, the range being from 92% approval for the Koreans to 97% for the Japanese. It must be remembered that this question was asked shortly after the draft was reopened to persons of Japanese ancestry.

Military Government

The results to questions on martial law and the provost court did not show nearly as much unanimity.

"Do you believe the security of Hawaii would be endangered by the complete elimination of martial law?"

Yes 55 %
No 33 %
Don't know 12 %

(These results have been compared elsewhere with other attempts to get at the way people felt about martial law. Our own rough public opinion poll came out with very similar results.)

"Do you believe the provost courts have dealt fairly with all groups of civilians in Hawaii?"

Yes 41 %
No 34 %
Don't know 25 %

The only group in which more than a majority said no to the latter question was the Korean, with 58% saying no. The Korean feeling was undoubtedly related to the fact that Korean aliens were for a long time treated as enemy aliens. They were thus under a stricter curfew regulation which some of them violated. An interesting contrast is the 36% of the Japanese who said no. The smallest percentage of negative answers came from the Chinese group, 27%. The only group which was convinced by more than 50% that the provost courts had dealt fairly was the Hawaiian, in which 53% said yes.

Labor and Strikes

The various groups showed wide divergences in their reactions to a question on labor activities. The question was phrased as follows: "Do you think strikes are ever justified in wartime?"

Yes 28 %
No 57 %
Don't know 15 %

The strongest opposition to wartime strikes came from the Haoles, 70% of whom said no. On the other hand, only 52% of the Japanese and 50% of the Koreans said no. Only 2.5% of the Haoles could not make up their minds and answered, "I don't know," while 27% of the Koreans were undecided. The proportion of affirmative answers was about the same in every group, from 23% for the Koreans to 31% for the Japanese.

The Punahou Haole students voted *no* to the extent of 74%, whereas all other Haole students (University and Roosevelt) showed a percentage of *no* of 66%. Whether the implication is justified that Punahou students with their social background tend to be somewhat more conservative cannot be proven from the available data.

The girls differed only slightly from the boys in their reactions to this question, being a little more reluctant to condone wartime strikes. The percentages of those saying no were as follows:

Girls 59 %
Boys 55 %

Hawaii's Military Security

A question phrased to disclose the feeling of security from further enemy attack of the local people was the following: "Do you think Japan will make another military attack or raid on Hawaii?" Only 23% said yes, while 42% said no, and 35% were undecided. In the various groups the proportion of affirmative replies was as follows:

Koreans	54%
Haoles	39%
Chinese	37%
Part Hawaiians	24%
Japanese	16%

The high proportion of affirmative answers on the part of the Koreans is understandable in view of their long concern with Japanese aggression. The low proportion on the part of the Japanese may be interpreted by some as a sign that the local Japanese are helping to lull this community into a false sense of security. A truer interpretation probably is that the local Japanese feel that another raid or attack would not only endanger them physically like all the other elements in the community, but would again cause them to be placed into a separate category in which they would experience prejudice and discrimination. The low proportion of affirmative answers reflects strong wishful thinking.

Progress and End of the War

The preponderant extent to which the students expressed approval "of what President Roosevelt is doing towards winning the war" has been reported in the press.

Approved	83%
Disapproved	6%
Were undecided	11%

In one group, the Korean, no one disapproved. The percentage of approval in the various groups was as follows:

Haoles	89%
Koreans	88%
Part Hawaiians	88%
Chinese	85%
Japanese	80%

It may be significant that the Japanese group does not come quite as high in its approval as the other groups. This difference might be due to the fact that some Japanese feel more ambivalent about the outcome of the war. It could not however, in view of the phrasing of the question, be taken as an indication of disloyalty.

In an attempt to get at the attitude to the progress of the war in another way we asked, "If Germany should offer a peace with present boundaries (battle lines) and conditions unchanged, do you think we should accept the offer?" We asked the same question, naming Japan instead of Germany. The results for the whole group of 180 students were an overwhelming no, 88% in the case of Germany, and 89% in the case of Japan, with only 5% saying yes to both questions.

To both questions, the Koreans were unanimous in saying no and the Chinese had no affirmatives to either question and only a few "don't knows," 9% in the case of Germany and 4% in the case of Japan. Of the Japanese, 7% voted yes to both questions as against 2.5% of the Haoles who voted yes to the question on Germany and 1% who voted yes to the question on Japan.

Interracial Dating

The problem of interracial dating has been widely discussed in the community and strong attitudes are known to exist. To get at these, we asked, "Is your feeling one of approval when a girl of Oriental ancestry dates a Haole service man?" The general results are shown below:

Yes	39%
No	33%
Don't know	28%

Here the Haoles showed the greatest disapproval of the changes going on, 63%. The other groups said no in the following proportions:

Part Hawaiians	34%
Japanese	31%
Chinese	29%
Korean	19%

The largest proportion of affirmative answers came from the Japanese (43%) and Koreans (42%).

It might have been expected that the boys would have expressed greater disapproval than the girls, because in general interracial dating becomes competitive dating for the local boys. However, only 31% of the boys said no to the question as against 34% of the girls. Taking the boys from the three Oriental groups and the part-Hawaiian group and omitting the Haole boys, the results were as follows:

Yes	36%
No	31%
Don't know	33%

It is rather difficult to summarize briefly, let alone interpret, the material on interracial dating. The answers to the question "From which group do you hope to choose your husband or wife?" indicate that no group shows any very large proportion willing to risk taking a mate outside their own group. The highest percentage for each group was as follows:

Haoles	2.4% hoped to marry Haole-Hawaiians
Chinese	4.4% hoped to marry Part Hawaiians (non-Haole)
Japanese	1.9% hoped to marry Chinese
Koreans	7.1% hoped to marry Chinese
Part Hawaiians	13.5% hoped to marry Haoles

Interestingly enough, however, many persons specified *no first choice*. For each group this percentage was as follows:

Koreans	35.7%
Japanese	34.3%
Chinese	18.7%

Part Hawaiians 12.2%
Haoles 6.1%

This at least raises the question as to whether the ideal of romantic love, in which membership in groups plays no part in the choice of mates, may not be increasingly acceptable to our Oriental young people.

Another rather startling result is that in all groups except the Part Hawaiian, fewer boys than girls are hoping to marry within their own group. The percentages are as follows:

Haoles boys	86.1%	hope to marry Haoles
girls	93.5%	hope to marry Haoles
Chinese boys	59.3%	hope to marry Chinese
girls	75.0%	hope to marry Chinese
Japanese boys	46.6%	hope to marry Japanese
girls	62.8%	hope to marry Japanese
Korean boys	18.2%	hope to marry Koreans
girls	64.7%	hope to marry Koreans
Part Hawaiian boys	76.3%	hope to marry Part Hawaiians
girls	47.2%	hope to marry Part Hawaiians

This result, like that on dating, suggests that the Oriental boys in high school and University are not perhaps as resentful about the dating and marriage between Haoles men and Oriental girls as some persons assume.

Future Identification with Hawaii

In order to discover how much basis there was for the assertion that Hawaii no longer is attractive to local youth as a future home, we asked, "Where would you most like to make your home after the war?" The answers for the whole group were as follows:

86.0%	named Hawaii.
7.3%	named the United States Mainland
2.8%	named the Orient
2.2%	named various other places
1.7%	did not answer

The Haoles group of eighty students was most dissatisfied with Hawaii, only 56.3% naming Hawaii, while 32.5% named the United States Mainland. The thirty-one Koreans had almost as large a proportion who wished to go to the Orient to settle, as Haoles who wished to go to the Mainland. Only 7.7% of the Chinese and less than 1% of the Japanese think of going to the Orient.

Of all groups, the Japanese shows the largest proportion planning to stay here: 92.6% of the 458. This is more than even the Part-Hawaiians, 84% of whom named Hawaii.

There are no comparable large-scale studies for an earlier period. It is, therefore, only possible to suggest a shift in the sentiments of the Haoles.

This is a digest of the statistical results of the questionnaire. The written comments have so far not been summarized. Naturally the tentative interpretations here, offered in explanation of the way these students answered, may be modified or clarified when the comments have been analysed.

CENSUS NOTES ON THE NEGROES IN HAWAII PRIOR TO THE WAR

ROMANZO ADAMS

The number of Negroes in Hawaii has never been large and commonly most of them are not called Negroes. There is no Negro group in the social sense, but in 1900 and later there has been a small statistical (census) group called Negro.

The Negroes of Hawaii are now nearly all part Negro, but most of the part Negroes have been classified as Hawaiian or part Hawaiian or as Puerto Rican since 1900.

The actual Negroes or part Negroes of Hawaii of the present time are of three classes according to origin.

1. There are the part Negroes descended from the so called black Portuguese men who came to Hawaii on whaling ships from 1820 to 1880. These men came from the Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese possession, and some were mixed bloods, while others may have been of pure Negro descent. They were classified as Portuguese in censuses before 1900. Their children were, for the most part, Hawaiian but there were some part Portuguese. Typically the part Hawaiian children of these Negroes married back into the Hawaiian or part Hawaiian group so that later generations were mainly of Hawaiian blood. Some of the children of these Negroes and Portuguese white women married into the Hawaiian group—probably most of them—so that the Negro-Portuguese mixed blood statistical group has tended to disappear, the more remote descendants being, in fact, part Hawaiian, but for census purposes often classified as Hawaiian. By 1940 it is probable that nearly all of the descendants of these black Portuguese were classified for census purposes as part Hawaiian and the number was, in all probability, between seven and eight thousand.
2. When American Negroes began to come to Hawaii is not known, but probably no significant immigration occurred until after annexation in 1898. There is some reason for the view that about 25 or 30 had come in time to be enumerated in 1900 and that they were men—possibly in the army or the navy. Some families came before 1910 and others at still later dates so that there may be at the present time (1942) not far from two hundred Negroes of American birth, or origin. In 1940 these were, in the main the persons classified as Negroes for the purposes of the census.

1. This brief statement had been prepared as a part of an intensive study of population trends in which Dr. Adams was engaged at the time of his death in 1942. No scholar has analyzed the statistics of population of Hawaii with greater skill and insight than Romanzo Adams, and Social Process is proud to present a portion of the unpublished works of Hawaii's foremost sociologist. This statement is particularly timely as background for the two articles describing the role of the Negroes in Hawaii during the war and it also sheds light upon several other obscure aspects of Hawaiian census practice.—Editors

3. The Puerto Ricans who came to Hawaii mainly about 1902 were in the main of Negro descent—also of American Indian descent and in smaller measure of Spanish descent. Under the usual census rule that a person of Negro descent is classified as a Negro, all or nearly all of the Puerto Ricans in Hawaii would have been classified as Negroes, but, in fact, they were classified as Puerto Ricans and the Puerto Rican group was one of the four groups under the general title, "Caucasian."

When this term, "Caucasian", was first used for census purposes in 1910, there does not appear to have been any local protest from the real Caucasians, i. e. the white people. Probably this was because the term had no traditional use and that it was in effect ignored. The census tables had the general and the subtitles as follows:

Caucasian:

Portuguese
Puerto Rican
Spanish
Other Caucasian

But when local people used the data they commonly omitted the general title and this made the meaning of "Other Caucasian" sufficiently obscure that no opposition was aroused. The 1920 census tables omitted the general term Caucasian except in tables where the data were compared with those of 1910 and the same was true in 1930. During all this time the "Other Caucasian" was the one that served for the classification of the white people of American origin and of European origin (all countries excepting Portugal and Spain). It was supposed to be practically equivalent to the local term, haole.

Apparently the latent opposition to the inclusion of the part Negroes of Puerto Rican origin in the same class with the people of white American origin was made active by a definition that would have included a few hundred of them in this "Other Caucasian" or haole class. Before this can be considered it is necessary to consider the way the various mixed bloods are classified.

In a territory with as many recognized races or peoples as Hawaii it is impracticable to provide a class for each and every variety of mixed blood. If this were done it would require a table with more than a hundred groups for the persons of a two-way mixture and if separate tables for those of a three-way mixture were used there would be several hundred groups. Two groups of mixed bloods, the Caucasian-Hawaiian and the Asiatic Hawaiian, were recognized in 1910 and all the others were placed according to arbitrary rules.

In the case of the four groups under the title "Caucasian" there were six varieties of mixed bloods possible and actual and these according to the arbitrary rules were excluded from the "Other Caucasian" group. They were classified in 1910 and

again in 1920 as Portuguese, Puerto Rican, or Spanish. In this way the part Puerto Ricans were kept out of the class to which white Americans were placed. But the arbitrary rules were changed either intentionally or inadvertently in 1930 so that only the children of full Portuguese ancestry were classified as Portuguese and similarly for the Puerto Ricans and the Spanish. The six varieties of inter-Caucasian mixture were all transferred to the Other Caucasian group—seven or eight thousand in all.

Apparently the transfer of the part Portuguese and part Spanish aroused no opposition unless they were also part Puerto Rican, but there was, apparently sentiment against the inclusion of the part Puerto Ricans in the Other Caucasian group. Apparently the expectation of the Census Bureau was that they should be so classified but local sentiment vetoed the plan. Most of the part Puerto Ricans seem to have been classified as Negroes, perhaps four or five hundred in all. Whether all such mixed bloods were classified as Negroes or only those who, according to the enumerator's judgment, showed evident Negro traits, I do not know. At any rate one may assume that the enumerators did not always get the correct information.

In the three years, 1931-32, 1932-33 and 1934-35 there were born part Puerto Ricans of an inter-Caucasian mixture as follows:

Father	Mother	
Puerto Rican	Portuguese	68
Puerto Rican	Spanish	10
Puerto Rican	Other Caucasian	37
Portuguese	Puerto Rican	43
Spanish	" "	9
Other Caucasian	" "	51
Total		218

From these and other data one may infer that between 1902 and 1930, there had come into existence a mixed blood part-Puerto Rican population of inter-Caucasian mixture of five or six hundred persons, mainly minors in homes with one Puerto Rican parent.

The effect of this classification of several hundred part Puerto Ricans as Negroes was to cause the Negro group to show a marked increase from 348 in 1920 to 563 in 1930. Except for the transfer of the part Puerto Ricans, it is probable that there would have been a decrease of nearly a hundred in the number of Negroes on account of the descendants of the black Portuguese gaining Hawaiian status.

In 1940 there was another change in the classification of the part Puerto-Ricans. They were now classified as Puerto-Rican and this mainly served to reduce the Negro population from 563 to 255 at a time when the American Negro population was in all probability growing.

THE NEGRO SOLDIER IN KAHUKU

JUDY KUBO

Many Negro soldiers have been introduced to Hawaii since Pearl Harbor, although prior to the war few local residents had ever seen a Negro. In 1943, a rather large group of Negro soldiers was added to the Caucasian soldiers already stationed at or near the plantation community of Kahuku, Oahu. The introduction of this large group of colored soldiers gave the people of Kahuku their first opportunity to come into actual contact with Negroes.

In this brief report, I have tried to present a study of the attitudes and reactions of the members of this community upon coming into contact with Negroes for the first time. Most of the material presented was gathered from interviews, both formal and informal.

Kahuku is a small village on the windward side of the island of Oahu. It had a population of 2,251, according to the 1940 census. The population is largely Japanese and Filipinos. Most of the people are workers for the Kahuku Plantation Company. The age proportion has been changed considerably since the war, and we now have an older group of men. This is because of the enlistment of A.J.A.'s (Americans of Japanese Ancestry) into the army and the migration of boys and young men to Honolulu for better paying war-time jobs. Since the Filipinos and Japanese alone constitute a large enough group to warrant a study, this paper is based on the attitudes of these two groups toward the Negro.

The Negro soldiers at Kahuku are mainly from the Southern United States. A few have college and high school education. The men are generally stationed in small groups on the outskirts of the main village, under Caucasian officers.

It is interesting to note that the Negro expected to find Hawaii a place with equality for all races. Because of the many racial groups here, he had hoped to be accepted completely. Although, on the whole, the treatment here was better than that which the Negroes were accustomed to on the mainland, it was still far from their expectation of Hawaii, the "melting pot" of races.

General Attitude of Kahuku Residents toward Negroes

The Negro soldiers have not been accepted by the majority of people in Kahuku. From the day of their arrival, people peered through their windows in surprise. The Negroes were objects of curiosity, fear, and suspicion. It was common to hear the expression, "Gee, I'm afraid of them." They did not stop to think why they were afraid. Their fear was apparently based on previous reports, rumors, and transferred mainland prejudices. Color may have had something to do with the fear; however, this is unlikely since there are so many other dark-skinned people in Hawaii.

1. Study conducted in December, 1943.

After the Negro had been stationed at Kahuku for a while, a few rather new conceptions developed. These grew out of one or two incidents, the knowledge of which spread rapidly through Kahuku as gossip spreads in any small community. Like a rumor, each particular incident grew as it was repeated from one person to another. One of the first rumors that circulated was that the Negro was too friendly. "Once you are friendly with him, you can never shake him off." Similar remarks were often heard, such as, "If you attempt to speak to them, they'll be too friendly." "Once you talk to them, they always expect you to talk to them regardless of the time or place." "Really, they're nervy people; you just can't trust them."

An often repeated story was that of a young Filipino woman who had just returned from the hospital after giving birth to a child. A Negro soldier passed by her place and said hello to her. She returned his greeting good-naturedly. He came a second time, and a third time, talking about the weather, etc. The third time he approached the front door. The woman, frightened, moved to her father's home the next day. A few days later the Negro came to the father's home and invited himself into the house. The father swore at him and had the neighbors call the police. The reports that circulated about this incident were filled with elaborate details to make the story more intriguing.

Another story was about a Negro who walked into a girl's home while she was playing the piano and sat down to listen. The other occupants in the house were speechless with fright. Everyone looked at him as an intruder, but said nothing to him. He returned a few days later and asked the girl to play the piano.

These incidents coupled with the fear and suspicion already present in the minds of a few of the local people served to emphasize their general attitude of distrust. These cases were reported to the police department and later to the army personnel office. As a result, the commanding officer ordered all servicemen to keep away from residential districts, unless on official duty, or on the invitation of residents of Kahuku. This, however, served to emphasize the distrust of people for the Negroes.

After the Negro soldiers had been at Kahuku for a while and after the people had had the opportunity of making friends with some of them, the general attitude began to change. The people began to notice that the Negroes, like others, were polite and courteous. Sometimes the people were heard making comparisons which showed greater appreciation of the Negro soldier than of the White soldier in regard to politeness and courtesy.

Excerpts from a few interviews reveal such remarks as these:

"When you drop something, a Negro fellow is usually the first to pick it up."

"When a bus stops, all the Haole soldiers rush in, but the colored soldiers usually wait until all the others are on."

"They don't go whistling at every girl that passes by, although they eye the girls."

Although these statements show that the people slowly began to consider the colored soldiers somewhat more favorably, the fact that they were still suspicious and afraid cannot be denied.

Attitudes of Kahuku Girls and Boys

The attitudes of the boys and girls in Kahuku differed considerably. The girls on the whole feared and mistrusted the Negroes. The boys, on the other hand, were friendly and enjoyed the companionship of the colored soldiers. This is probably explained by the fact that the girls of Kahuku have been greatly influenced by the white soldiers. They have come into contact with white soldiers more frequently than the boys. Many of the girls refused to associate with the Negroes as this would have endangered their relationship with the white soldiers. The following report is typical of such a case:

One day my cousin and I went to a U.S.O. dance with two white soldiers from the air-base. While dancing a tag dance with my escort, a colored soldier tagged him. I danced with the colored soldier without thinking anything of it. At the end of the dance, the white soldier hardly spoke to me and sulked the rest of the time. My cousin's escort later told me that my friend resented having the Negro soldier cut in. I positively don't want to make any scene by refusing to dance with Negro soldiers, but then, if I do accept their dances, the white soldiers hold a grudge against me for having done so.

Often at the dances, the colored soldiers were neglected completely. There was, among the girls, an open partiality for Caucasian and local boys. Many of the colored soldiers realized that they "hadn't much of a chance," so they just sat and watched. Others who were more aggressive asked for dances, but were almost always refused. Sometimes a fight developed at the dances over the girls. Other disturbances in the neighborhood often resulted because of the girl's refusal to dance with the colored soldiers.

When the public school reopened in September, it was made clear that there would be no benefit dances sponsored by the school, or by any integral part of it, unless the girls would dance with everyone. In giving me this information, one of the girls added:

Our class (high school senior) was discussing the question of a benefit dance. The boys all voted "yes," and the girls all voted "no." Later the teacher asked the girls about their votes and found out that this was because by having a benefit dance, there would be no means of keeping the Negro soldiers away.

However, later the senior class did have a benefit dance. Many Negroes were present at this dance, and, as usual, only a few asked the girls for dances. This time the girls did dance with Negroes although not too often. Some of the girls that did dance made disparaging remarks later. These remarks again followed the stereotyped patterns. One of the girls told me about her aunt, who never allowed her to stay late while visiting her.

She would say, "You never know what one of those Negroes might do to you."

The boys at Kahuku were quite different in their attitudes toward the Negro. They have had little contact with the white soldiers because of a feeling of competition for girls. In this respect the girls often pushed aside local boys, preferring the mainlander. Thus, again, the preponderance of males in Hawaii played an important role in the adjustment of one group to another. One of the boys remarked concerning the Negro soldiers:

They're nice and we get along smoothly with them. Since the "Bennies" (white soldiers) have all the chance with the girls now, the Negro soldiers and we get together more. We invite the Negro soldiers to play basketball whenever we see them.

The local boys were often seen riding around in jeeps and trucks with the Negroes, having a lot of fun together, whereas, as one boy said, "The white soldiers concentrate on giving the girls rides." The younger boys, intermediate and junior-high age, looked forward to these rides, and often, instead of going home on the school bus, many of them waited along the roadside for the Negro soldiers to give them a lift.

Attitudes of Pearl City Residents

The attitudes and reactions of the people in Kahuku toward the Negro are not necessarily those found elsewhere in Hawaii. A somewhat different situation existed at Pearl City and other communities in Hawaii, where many local people came into contact with large numbers of colored servicemen for the first time. Therefore, a brief comparison of reports from Pearl City and Kahuku might be useful.

Pearl City is urbanized and inclined to be more liberal than Kahuku. Family patterns and ties have been weakened, whereas, in Kahuku, the family pattern is still intact largely because Kahuku is still a rural area. Furthermore, the racial composition of the population at Pearl City includes larger numbers of Hawaiian, Puerto Ricans, and Portuguese than at Kahuku. In Pearl City the number of Negro servicemen was greater than the number of white servicemen. Thus the influence that the white servicemen had over the local people in Pearl City was less in degree than in Kahuku. These, as well as other factors, contributed to a somewhat friendlier attitude toward the Negro servicemen in Pearl City.

At Pearl City the people did not look at the Negro as objects of fear and suspicion. They were given an opportunity, and they did establish friendship with the local people. Girls went dancing and went to the theater with Negro soldiers and commented on the good behavior of the Negroes. The Negroes were invited to the homes of civilians. Negroes were frequently present at luaus, parties, and other socials.

Although there was definite evidence of friendliness between the local people and the Negro in Pearl City, there were also many instances indicating that he had not been accepted completely. In the case of two marriages, one to a Hawaiian and

one to a Japanese girl, family antagonism and some group resentment were present. It is interesting to note that in Pearl City and in Kahuku, as well as in regions of the mainland, color was not the ultimate criterion for the acceptance or refusal of one group by another. A large number of Negro servicemen were fairer in complexion than the local people. Often, just being a Negro was the cause for limited association or distrust. Often, Negroes in Pearl City were accepted, because they were mistaken for some other racial group. However, when it was discovered that they were Negroes, the friendship was often dissolved.

Conclusion

It may be safely said that in both Kahuku and in Pearl City the Negro is being gradually accepted, although the process has gone further in Pearl City. But whether this trend will continue or not is difficult to predict, because the attitudes of the local people on the whole toward the Negro are still in the making; and there are numerous social forces within the islands and in the United States as a whole which can and are influencing the making of these attitudes. The people are being daily subjected to hearsay, newspaper articles, books, movies, and actual experiences. The nature of these will determine to a great extent whether the attitudes of the people toward the Negro will be positive or negative. For instance, today in the community there are many mainlanders who have brought with them their particular racial patterns to Hawaii. Among these racial patterns is that of the South's Negro-White relationship. Mainlanders with deep-seated prejudices toward the Negro come into contact more frequently with the residents of Hawaii, and their attitudes will greatly influence the attitude of the local people. Accounts of the girls in Kahuku being influenced by white soldiers are examples of this process.

The two large daily newspapers in Hawaii also play an important part in the formation of the attitudes of local residents toward the Negro. Whether deliberately or not, the Negro is always specified as a "Negro" when a crime is committed. Here they follow the practice of large mainland newspapers. Undoubtedly this specification plays upon the psychology of the people who read the papers and plays a great role in stamping upon the minds of the readers the crimes committed by "Negroes." Similar crimes are described almost daily in the newspapers, but the accused, if not a Negro, is always referred to merely as a serviceman, a soldier, a sailor, or a marine. Only a Negro is invariably referred to as a Negro soldier, a Negro sailor, or a Negro marine.

The process of attitude formation in Hawaii toward the Negro is in the making and all the forces mentioned above will have a great influence in the final outcome.

VIOLATIONS OF THE RACIAL CODE IN HAWAII

SHIRLEY ABE

Since the outbreak of the war, Hawaii as an important military outpost of the United States has had its share of the social, economic, and political problems which inevitably arise out of war. One of the important effects of the war upon Hawaii has been the violation of its traditional racial code. Although known for its comparative racial equality, Hawaii has not accepted the Negroes on the same level as it has the various other temporary or permanent races residing in the Islands. The questions arise, what is the nature of this differential treatment, and what is the cause of this violation of Hawaii's traditional racial code?

Publicly and officially, Hawaii upholds the ideal of racial equality. Its racial mores and rituals stress equality. The public adheres to the principle of racial equality as its traditional doctrine and overtly supports the principle that there shall not be any public racial discrimination in Hawaii. The racial mores are manifested by the public acceptance of interracial marriage, an absence of statutes forbidding such marriages, an absence of any fixed pattern of discrimination and inequality in franchise, holding of public office, riding in public vehicles, residing in hotels, and an absence of legal segregation in the schools, and business and residential areas. No one can publicly come out and condemn a particular racial group without receiving protests from the other racial groups. There is a mutual feeling of sympathy and understanding among the various racial minorities. They feel that it is to their own advantage publicly to uphold racial equality.

A number of factors in Hawaii's early history explains the development of her present racial code. We know that the absence of tabus on interracial marriage in old Hawaii and the resultant inter-mixture of the different races due to an abnormal sex ratio prevented the development of a caste system. Slavery was non-existent in early Hawaii, so there was no slave-relations pattern which could become the basis of future racial discrimination and inequality. The presence of so many racial and mixed blood groups in itself made it difficult for a community sanctioning racial inequality to develop. The plantations had to subscribe to the doctrine of racial equality in order to maintain a steady flow of immigrant laborers. All these factors have played a role in the development of the present racial pattern in Hawaii.

Contrary to uninformed opinion, however, the racial code in Hawaii has another side. There is a paradox. Underneath the surface of racial harmony as seen in public life, there are prejudices in the private lives of the people, socially as well as economically. Actually, subtle prejudices do operate in matters such as entering certain schools, residing in certain hotels, and owning homes in certain residential areas. In the occupational

1. The following two paragraphs are based upon the interpretation by Romanzo Adams in "The Unorthodox Race Doctrines of Hawaii" in E. B. Reuter (Ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts*.

field, where there is a keen competition for opportunities in the well-salaried jobs and professions, the minority groups feel that certain promotions are denied them by the dominant group. However, the prejudices which do exist are private, expressed only in the inner circle, hidden beneath a display of friendliness and equality.

After December 7, 1941, large numbers of Negro servicemen and war workers came to Hawaii. The same outward attitude and treatment of equality exhibited toward the resident racial groups were, however, lacking in the case of the Negroes. As a group the Negroes are not accepted by the local people on the same level as the other racial groups. The members of the community have not shown as open and whole hearted welcoming of Negro soldiers, as they have of the white soldiers. Most local girls, for instance, refuse social relations with Negro servicemen. Strong resentment has been shown by many of the Negro servicemen interviewed because they see that the other racial groups, sometimes darker than the Negroes, are accepted. A marine sergeant, formerly a college student from North Carolina, when interviewed, had this to say: "The people here act as though the Negro soldier was some kind of animal to be afraid of. People don't seem to realize that the Negro soldiers have feelings and that they react in the same way that everyone else does toward certain kinds of treatment."

Two Negro chaplains have expressed the opinion that their troops feel that the people here are not as friendly as they could be. They resent the attitudes of the Islanders bitterly.

A Negro chaplain, in an interview, said that those of his men who hope to remain here after the war believe that one good reason for wishing to live here is that they don't experience as much discrimination as in some parts of the Mainland. On the other hand, a war worker, in relating the experiences of his friends, said that many of the men feel that there is a shrewd under-handed prejudice in Hawaii which hurts more than open discrimination. These men feel that open discrimination in the sense of knowing where one can go and where one cannot go and signs clearly defining the situation are much better than this subtle prejudice. Although the Negroes recognize that there is no public discrimination in Hawaii, they also sense that prejudice is present. As a consequence they expect that if they remain here after the war, open social and economic discrimination will be practiced against them.

Actually, many cases of public discrimination have already been reported. These are perhaps the first occasions of overt public discrimination in Hawaii. Certain Honolulu bars have refused admittance to Negroes on the pretext that they are already intoxicated. Some local barbers have refused to cut colored servicemen's hair. Naval Housing at Pearl Harbor maintains segregated quarters for Negro and White defense workers. Even at the University the avoiding of social contact with Negroes has been apparent. Some time ago plans were made between the USO and the University of Hawaii to give a dance for colored

soldiers with the University girls as dancing partners. Elaborate plans had been made but shortly before the scheduled date the dance was cancelled because there had been too small a number of girls wishing to participate.²

Until the opening of the interracial Rainbow Club, the USO in Honolulu sponsored two dances weekly for Negro servicemen only; one at the Victory Club on Friday nights and the other at the Pearl City USO Club. One of the men working on these dances mentioned that it is always harder to get girls to attend these dances than those held for White servicemen. About thirty-five girls are usually present at these dances and the same ones attend each time. One observation at the Friday night Victory Club dance showed that most of the girls were of Hawaiian descent, the rest being Portuguese and Oriental girls. The Negro soldier may attend the regular dances held at the Victory Club to which the white soldiers go—provided he has a partner with him. However, he must dance with his partner only. On the other hand, the white soldiers are permitted to go up to the roof garden without partners. Their partners are provided for them by the USO.

It is paradoxical that in a land where the policy has been that of comparatively equal treatment of all people from the lightest to the darkest skin color, the Negro has not been so treated. What is the cause of this differential treatment? We know that before the war Hawaii had only a handful of Negro residents and many of the local people had never seen a Negro before. This is the first time in the history of the Islands that we have had such a large number of Negroes. There was no Negro population who could receive them. No charitable organization was working for the welfare of the Negroes because there had been no need for it previously. Since there was no Negro nucleus in the community the Negroes had no organized method of becoming adjusted or absorbed into the community. The local people were unprepared to receive them because a good many of them had never had any contact with or seen a Negro before. The Negroes looked strange to them and probably it was difficult for them to accept people who were new and who seemed to be different from them. This was an entirely new experience for many Islanders and to many they were at first objects of curiosity more than anything else.

Ethnocentrism may be a partial answer to the question as to why the local people do not mix freely with the Negroes. When we look at the institutionalized pattern of discrimination that has been set up in Hawaii for the treatment of the Negroes since their arrival, however, we have reason to believe that the differential treatment of the Negroes involves more than the matter of ethnocentric feeling among the various groups here. Almost immediately after their arrival in large numbers, certain standardized ways of discrimination, such as the avoidance of per-

2. At least one successful dance for Negro servicemen had been sponsored earlier by University girls. Moreover, the proposed dance, mentioned by the author, was scheduled for a date just before final examinations.—Editors

sonal contact, began to characterize the treatment of Negroes here. The forms are noticeable in the segregated USO dances which signify the shunning of personal and social contacts; in the barber's refusal to give a hair-cut, which again signifies avoidance of personal contact; in the discrimination of certain restaurants and bars; in the segregation at the Naval Housing to prevent equal opportunity for social contact.

The very fact that discrimination toward the Negroes in Hawaii has so quickly become standardized and is like that of the Mainland is an indication that it is a carry-over from the continental United States. Also, the institutions which came over to Hawaii from the Mainland, such as the USO and the Naval Housing, were on the Mainland involved in discriminatory patterns which it was natural for them to take for granted in Hawaii.

The Hawaiian Islands have had an influx of white servicemen and war workers who have influenced our whole island life at many points. These men have come from all parts of the continental United States, each with his own cultural background, education, experiences, attitudes, and prejudices. They have brought with them attitudes and practices peculiar to their respective environments. We know that a good proportion of the Southerners have anti-Negro sentiments and that those who have come to Hawaii with such prejudices will have no reason to discard them. This is not to say that anti-Negro sentiment is confined to the Southerners only, but a great deal of the influence has probably come from this group.

If things had gone on naturally, without any introduction of the Mainland pattern of race relations, the Negroes would very likely have been gradually accepted and absorbed into the community, just as the Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos have become a part of the community, each one starting towards the bottom of the social scale and working its way up. Among the tremendous number of Mainland servicemen and war workers, there were a good many men who assumed that the discrimination practiced at home was present wherever they went. The refusal of the local people to accept the Negroes as social equals is thus in large part due to this importation of patterns from the Mainland.

This Mainland pattern of race relations is now being adopted by the people of Hawaii. The following is an example of how some Islanders acquire their attitudes toward the Negroes. A woman of Japanese ancestry was asked what her attitude toward the Negroes was. She replied that she would have nothing to do with them. She then called her husband, a Mainland defense worker, and said, "Dick, tell her about the Negroes on the Mainland." Her husband said that he has a strong dislike for Negroes mainly because they have no moral values whatsoever. They rape and murder and think nothing about it. He feels that it is best that Negroes do not walk on the sidewalks and that they be made to ride in the back of buses and excluded from restaurants. "The whole trouble with giving them any-

thing is that once you give them something they want more and more," he said. He will have nothing to do with Negroes because he says, "One cannot trust them."

The Islanders had no basic reason to discriminate against the Negroes. They presented no economic threat to the local people. The Negro problem here is superficial as yet in that sense. Almost all of the colored people here are in the service and those at Pearl Harbor are not giving any special economic competition to the Islanders. In fact, they are needed here because of labor shortage; they are not taking jobs from local people, but are engaged in war work and are too small a minority to be a threat to the Islanders. Furthermore, there are indications that the Negroes here are only a temporary group and that they will not remain in such large numbers after the war.

Without economic strain and competition today, the Islanders have, nevertheless, taken a prejudiced attitude toward the Negroes. Perhaps, some of the Islanders feel compelled to conform to the Mainland pattern of race relations in Hawaii because it is the pattern of the dominant group upon whose good-will their security is thought to depend. The Negro, on the other hand, does not seem to have anything to offer the local people. As a consequence, the Japanese, for example, don't mix too freely with the Negroes because they, too, are under pressure at the present time and to mingle with the Negroes will bring further pressure and suspicion upon themselves. A local minister of Japanese ancestry said that he was questioned by the authorities because he had many Negro friends and servicemen who came to his church and visited him at his home. Many Islanders have expressed the feeling that they don't wish to associate with the Negroes because they will be frowned upon by their own group and looked down upon by the community. They have accepted the myth that the Negroes are inferior people, therefore, if they associate with the Negroes they would be degrading themselves and thus lose their prestige. An eighteen year old Oriental girl said to me, "If I meet a Negro person, I will be friendly toward him, but I won't go out and be seen on a date with him."

Such inconsistent actions of the local people reveal the basis of our race relations pattern in Hawaii. It is based on the ambivalent reactions of the various groups living here. In one situation there is a feeling of sympathy and understanding for the other underdog and a desire to make up for his mistreatment by treating him well and fairly; whereas, in another situation there is a desire for the feeling of superiority and a tendency to mistreat him by identification with the dominant group and in being the persecutor rather than the persecuted. The Negroes in Hawaii have been subjected to this inconsistency of value of the minority groups.

The refusal of the local Islanders to treat the Negroes equally and in accordance with the traditional code of race relations is thus also based on this psychological phenomenon of ambivalence, which up to the time of the arrival of the Negroes, had

been well concealed. With the introduction of Mainland institutions and their practice of open segregation and discrimination, the minority groups adopted this pattern of discrimination of the Negroes because it was a ready-made opportunity for them to satisfy their desire for a feeling of superiority in status; of being identified with the dominant group.

Had there been no institutionalized pattern of discrimination introduced into the Islands there would likely have resulted very little overt discriminatory action on the part of the local people towards the Negroes. The various minority groups here are in an ambivalent situation but they would not have gone to the extent of forming institutionalized patterns of discrimination, for the ambivalence has always been concealed under the cloak of tradition which upholds racial equality.

ISLANDER'S REFLECTIONS ON MAINLAND JAPANESE

ANONYMOUS

EDITORIAL NOTE

Letter-writing is one of the arts which has come into its own in Hawaii during the war. Thousands of Island residents, whose pre-war mail consisted chiefly of bills and advertisements, now carry on extensive correspondence with relatives and friends in the service situated all over the world. Many of the supposedly inarticulate Orientals have become surprisingly expressive through the medium of personal letters.

The War Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii has received copies of a large number of the letters exchanged by Island residents in the services and their friends in Hawaii. Almost every sort of topic within the interests of the writers, from meat shortages to religious revivals, receives surprisingly frank and unrestrained discussions in these letters despite war-time censorship.

The interchange of letters included in this issue of *Social Process* is valuable chiefly as shedding light upon certain of the attitudes of Island citizens of Japanese ancestry. The chief topic of discussion in the letters is the relationship between the Hawaiian A.J.A.'s and their mainland "cousins." This problem figured largely in the early experience of the Island volunteers in the famous 442nd Infantry Battalion and was a favorite topic for "griping" in the letters home. The discussion provided in the following letters is significant for its analytical approach and its uninhibited expression.

Quite apart, however, from the value which the letters have in illuminating this particular problem of human relations, they reflect many other attitudes of Hawaiian A.J.A.'s of the more reflective and sophisticated type—toward "Americanism, toward midwestern and southern hospitality, toward the war, toward themselves and their fellow "Hawaiians." The letters also reveal in the Hawaiian A.J.A. a much more "Americanized" and forthright individual than is commonly suspected. There is, at the same time, a recognition of continuing obstacles to full participation in American life by the A.J.A., particularly in the post-war world, but these difficulties are faced with confidence and courage.

The principal participant in the interchange is a University of Hawaii student who volunteered for service in the United States Army in 1943 and who was subsequently trained in several mainland centers along with Nisei from the Pacific Coast states. The other correspondent is one of his former University instructors of Caucasian ancestry. The interchange of letters is included in *Social Process* chiefly as source material for an understanding of the character of Hawaii's citizens of Japanese ancestry as reflected in their attitudes toward the mainland Nisei.

—Andrew W. Lind

April 28, 1944

Dear Mr. _____,

..... Those seven months at Camp Savage were the most arduous and intensive period of studying I have ever gone through and left me physically and mentally "exhausted." We spent an average of 9 to 10 hours a day in the classrooms and I feel that any college schedule would be "snap" for me now. While one cannot cover so vast a field of knowledge in such a short time, I was amazed at the amount I had learned.

We found "refuge" in the warm-heartedness of the Minnesota citizens outside of camp, and most of the Hawaiian boys established very pleasant acquaintances with certain families around in Minneapolis. The open-mind, tolerant and understanding attitude of these people still amazes me for, after what California rabble-rousers had vociferously proclaimed and after the relative "coldness" of the Southern people, here were people remarkably free of prejudices, who treated us with all respect and hospitality.

No one will ever know how grateful the boys were about this treatment—it has gone a long way into re-instilling into their hearts an even greater faith in the essential goodness of the American people and they feel that as long as there are such intelligent and understanding people left in our country, they are not fighting for a lost cause but that justice and recognition will prevail. To have been with good Americans has definitely made them better Americans.

I don't know how close you are in contact with the mainland evacuee-relocation problem but this will be the subject of my letter more or less. I will attempt to give you a picture of this problem as I see it and hope that it will be of some interest to you. I am not only interested in the problem from a selfish-practical viewpoint; namely that whatever the Nisei ("Kotonks")¹ do or whatever happens to them, it is going to affect those in Hawaii in some way, for better or for worse. I fear the latter. But I am also concerned in a "biological-humanitarian" way; that regardless of how much they look down on AJA's (the term we use instead of Nisei) and how much differences of ideology and culture exist between us, that they are of the same biological kind and suffering in a similar situation. so why not try to study the problem and attempt to solve it constructively for the good of all loyal AJA's—Niseis alike.

This problem frankly has been my greatest disappointment in my army life, because of the weak, passive, and negative manner in which these Niseis are handling their relocation problem. It means so much to me to be able to have pride in one's own

1. The terms nisei, meaning second generation, in contrast to issei, referring to the first generation, and sansei, for the third generation of Japanese immigrants, have developed some currency in Hawaii only since the war. The terms have long been used on the West Coast where Japanese language and culture have been transmitted to the American-born generation somewhat more successfully than in Hawaii. The derivative term kotonks appears to have developed among the Hawaiian-born in referring to the California-born Americans of Japanese ancestry and as used derisively to imply a condition of mental emptiness or neutrality.

kind, to be able to anticipate a healthy future where people will look to all Americans of Japanese ancestry with trust, faith, and confidence in their true American character—but right now, it seems that I cannot have these feelings because these Niseis are not working and fighting 100% for their status as an integral part of the American community at a time when they are "on the spot" and have a "now or never" opportunity to prove with emphasis, how strongly they belong to the American community and way of life.

Let's look at the sources of personal contact with the Nisei from which I gained definite impressions:

1. *Nisei volunteers at Shelby:*

Personally, I give these boys credit for volunteering for the army when the odds and opinion in relocation camps were so much against them—some had to steal away at night so recalcitrants wouldn't beat them. But once at Shelby, their cultural background being so different, they didn't associate too well with AJA's and kept to themselves—never open, confident, friendly but hesitant, taciturn, quick to complain, critical behind backs, very ambitious toward personal progress and promotion. To their frustrated souls, military rank was a great healer of wounded pride, something which they guard zealously even against the welfare of others. AJA's in turn were open, happy-go-lucky, frank, friendly, and never tried to get ahead at other's expense.

Those Nisei sergeants set over us when we arrived were hastily trained, quickly promoted old draftee men, and this situation was the biggest morale breaker of the 442 movement. The AJA-Nisei relations were the worst in this case where the AJA's were subordinated to these "overnight" sergeants. In general, the Nisei was characterized by passiveness, "lack of guts," individualism even among themselves, but the Midwest Niseis (Nebraska) were more friendly and less inclined to make barriers.

2. *Rohwer Relocation Center, Arkansas:*

Just before being transferred to Savage, we got a three-day pass and I was invited to visit Rohwer. I went out for sheer curiosity and came away quite disgusted. Though the camp was dry and hot, their resourcefulness made it look like a large plantation camp. But it was the atmosphere that was bad. There I saw hundreds of boys from 16-25 who shunned the posters urging Savage recruiting, but stayed in camp—what a source of manpower! They did not even look at us in uniform, but their expression told us what they thought of us. The girls welcomed service men and were very nice to us, however. The old folks seemed content to just live, but were proud of sons in the service. But I saw some "Kibei"² practicing a "shibai" drama in a mess hall and was astounded. At

2. This term, also imported to Hawaii from the West Coast since the war, refers to American citizens of Japanese ancestry who have spent some time in Japan, presumably during their impressionable years and have later returned to America. Frequently, although not always, these persons were indoctrinated with Japanese nationalism.

night there was a big "Bon"³ dance where hundreds of young people danced to a blaring loudspeaker of "ondos."⁴

The sight of boys my age who scorned all opportunity to leave camp to construct a new life outside, dancing with the rest of them was repulsive and disgusting. I literally "beat it" out of there with a pronounced feeling of distaste and disappointment. Here's how the Nisei were taking the evacuation—quitting, griping, sourness, no ambition, no faith or trust in the people outside or the government. They were drenched in tears of self-pity, only conscious of "They done me wrong" feeling. Here was reaction on the worst side—the better element had left camp or were in the army.

3. *Relocated Nisei in Minneapolis and Chicago:*

On pass, we were able to see what the relocated Niseis were doing. I give them credit for having integrity enough to leave the negative atmosphere of camp and courage enough to face the odds of resettling as well as of public sentiment. But I stop there for I see them tending to make the same mistake over again that brings them so much disfavor—*congregating*. They are flocking out to big cities, but settle in hunches for a sense of security and are only making themselves more obvious targets for more abuse and discrimination.

The "Lil' Tokyo" of Minneapolis is the Y.W.C.A., a "haven" for Nisei who take shelter under its maternal wing in great numbers and congregate there until it is virtually a Nisei center. With the kindest people in the states right around them in Minneapolis, they "hide" in the Y.W. and huddle in collective security. This is what I call the "ostrich complex"—hiding their best American characteristics to the American public, but only showing their gregarious tail-end which is distasteful to anyone else who sees them.

4. *Relocation Center Papers and Nisei Publications:*

An indirect but effective means of mirroring the life of the relocated Nisei is the various papers they publish, notably the "Colorado Times" and the "Pacific Citizen." The latter is the voice of the Nisei by being the organ of the Japanese American Citizens' League published from Salt Lake City—it contains a lot of editorial comment which is a good barometer of their views. My criticism of it is that it "cries" too much; it is defensive; it is sensitive to new insults, discriminations, and rebuffs.

I have never done this before but I am going to list a few basic facts of the Nisei as I see them, as a summary of my observations:

3. The Japanese memorial festival during full moon in July or August when the spirits of the dead are welcomed back to earth by traditional dances and religious rites.
4. A type of modern dance, set to music and performed during the Bon festival.

1. *Lack of spiritual Americanism*—by this I point out the fact that "cultural Americanism," an American standard of living, does not necessarily assure one that he is fully American in spirit.

2. *The paradox of prejudice*—there is many a howl from this group about being discriminated against by Caucasian people and while this is true to some extent, these Nisei in turn unconsciously and sometimes deliberately look down upon the Negro, Mexican, Chinese, Filipinos and even Hawaiian AJA's with a condescending, superior attitude. They also gnash their teeth about the discrimination of the evacuation and confinement—just one isolated event—and yet in this same country are two other minorities that have suffered "a thousand deaths" as far as race prejudice is concerned—the Negro who has suffered over 200 years of maltreatment in this country, who has and will suffer a hundred fold times more than the Japanese in this country—and the Jews who have suffered discrimination of segregation and bloodshed for 2000 years and are still being persecuted more bitterly in places like New York than the Nisei are. The blackeye that hurts now will disappear and cease to pain when others are to be seen having lost their sight, their limbs or their legs.

3. *A shallow concept of democracy*—they did not have a full understanding of what democracy means and its full implications. They would only see democracy as provided for word for word by the Constitution, as the idealistic way of life providing full freedom, equality, justice—they could never see it in its cold realistic applications such as will be brought on by the expedencies of war. It can't happen here" was their complacent boast. "I am a citizen" was their defiant argument, "so they won't throw me out." But they did. And they couldn't believe it.

4. *Lack of Faith in Democracy*—Now they see exactly the other side. They were utterly frustrated at evacuation and lost all faith it seems in the American principles. "See what they have done to me" is the prime thought and they have lost their initiative and courage to go out and make themselves a new niche elsewhere when the chance was offered. They are blaming the government and people of the U. S. for what happened to them at the hands of a few people in one state. I can readily understand their disgruntled attitude at being uprooted from California, but I can't see why they sit in those camps and keep bawling all this time about how wrongfully they've been treated. Sympathy is what they want, but sympathy won't bring them a new life elsewhere in our country. I wonder what would have happened if we had all sat down and wept tears of self-pity when we were discharged from the Hawaii Guards and had lacked the faith and courage to volunteer again to form the VVV?

5. *Lack of Courage*—Life in those camps seems to have sapped

them of the fine traits of character, chief among them the plain "guts" to take what was given, to stand up, to go out into the wider community, to mix with other people, and to fight for their crust of bread in spite of the odds. Why don't they come out and speak true to their convictions, speak openly, lodge complaints where they will be heard? This "beaten dog complex" is what we Hawaiian AJA's find most obvious in the Niseis that we meet and it "gripes" us to say the least.

6. *Parental domination, paternalism*—this may be the cause of a lot of the Nisei inertia, sensitiveness, dependency. The mainland Nisei, like their cousins in Japan, are tied down by a very strong paternalism to the parent, and they are "tied to the apron strings" even after maturity. This retards their independence, their initiative, their self thinking, their integrity. It was a great pre-war fault of the Issei of sending many of them back to Japan for education, "reform," discipline. Many of the Nisei want to leave camp to earn a living outside, to join the army, to refuse repatriation to the Tule Lake Center, but their parents stop them and influence them in the "old country" way. The young Nisei hadn't the American independence to break away and assert his own convictions. One roommate of mine in Savage went way back to the center to ask his folks whether he could get married or not, and he is 25 years old! My God, what immaturity! It staggers me, this Nisei family system.

Well, that ought to be enough. Many of these seem to contradict each other, but they are part of the complex Nisei mind and behavior. You can obviously see that I am *prejudiced* against them myself, but I think it's the frustration of my friendly overtures and attempts to win their confidence. It all results in a feeling of disappointment in their character and their future possibilities of improving their lot. I must add though that I have met several outstanding Nisei who were the finest people and I honestly admire them, but they are so few and so different from the rest. I may have given the impression that all the Hawaii AJA's are faultless angels in comparison—by all means NO! The fact is that a large part of our AJA population at home would fit into the same descriptions as above though not in such a pronounced degree. We have a lot to improve in Hawaii and a long, long way to go.

That is just the point. If we can study the problems of the mainland Nisei, analyze his shortcomings, and profit by his mistakes, we might be able to apply our knowledge to the home front for the betterment of the AJA's in Hawaii. The AJA's in Hawaii are in many ways no different from the Niseis and we have much to improve, much to learn. There is still a great inertia that holds them down from asserting themselves more

positively and openly—it may be this paternalism; it may be sensitiveness; it may come from a lack of true understanding of how democracy really works; it certainly can stand a lot more *Americanism*.

June 20, 1944

Dear Joe:

It was particularly gratifying to know that residents of Minnesota had shown a high quality of hospitality to the boys from the islands. Although I have never lived for any length of time in Minnesota, I have a number of distant relatives there; and it's good to know that the second generation Swedes and Norwegians have been able to recognize quality in another group of second generation. It is possible that the kinship of experience has something at least to do with expression of warm heartedness.

Your statement regarding the reactions of the "Kotonks" and of your reactions to their conduct interested me greatly. A number of the boys on the mainland have written me in a somewhat similar vein, but nowhere have I received such a forthright and "typically Hawaiian" statement; and I appreciate more than I can say your willingness to sit down and write so completely and graphically.

You may perhaps wonder at my referring to your statement as typically Hawaiian. What I mean is that your interpretation reflects a rather wholesome and extroverted reaction to an exceedingly difficult psychological experience. I might as well, perhaps, have said typically American and, of course, using the term in its best connotation as the reaction of the pioneer and the man of action. I would not presume to attempt myself to understand the psychology of the mainland Nisei, having had so little direct contact with their situation. (I have talked with a fair number of mainland Nisei who have been in the Islands for shorter or longer periods as interpreters and have tried to fathom through their accounts the experience of the group as a whole.)

It seems to me that your description of the Nisei at Shelby as being "never open taciturn, quick to complain, critical behind backs, very ambitious, etc.," is probably very accurate and that it is a natural and inevitable consequence of their experience, both prior to the war and since the war. Certainly, what little I have seen of the mainland Nisei in the service leads me to believe that they are long conditioned to an introverted psychology which is quite different from our own AJA's. It is quite natural, therefore, that in their relocation centers, as well as in the settlement outside of the centers, they should turn in upon themselves and, as you say, make the same mistakes over again.

There is no doubt about their following the ostrich psycho-

logy, but the question is how can it possibly be overcome? Certainly, it will do little good to condemn them to segregation. It is possible that some of them may be stung into an attitude where they will still insist upon being accepted as *bona-fide* members of the community and not as second-rate Americans within a racial ghetto, but I suspect that the conditioning of most of them has been too long and deep-seated to be overcome at least under the unfavorable conditions of wartime.

It is the age old story of the Jew who first sought the ghetto for the comfort and warmth which it could provide from a hostile and alien world and who thereby intensified the hostility and lack of understanding from the gentile world. As in the case of the Jew, some have always fought against the discrimination, but relatively few have solved the dilemma by losing their identity as Jews.

The account of the Rohwer Center was very interesting, and I can just imagine the repulsion which you must have experienced in the conduct of the Kibei there. It is, of course, true that some of the Kibei here have reacted in a somewhat comparable fashion, although fortunately they have most of them continued to live in a larger community where such attitudes have been frowned upon. You may have heard of the recent case which obtained newspaper publicity here of a Kibei who refused induction into the Army, stating that his sympathies were with Japan. I have no doubt that there are others of that type in the community, although fortunately the number is small.

Your criticism of the "Pacific Citizen" is quite similar to a statement made by a Hawaii A.J.A. to the editor of that journal. He was particularly resentful of the way in which the *Citizen* had capitalized upon the casualties of the Hawaiian-born AJA's in the Italian theater as a means of promoting their "negative" approach to the mainland citizens. He also felt that it "cries too much, that it is defensive and always sensitive to new insults."

.....
Your summary statement regarding the Nisei is certainly a pretty thorough excoriation of them. I have no doubt that there is a lack of spiritual Americanism, as you put it, which is sometimes belied by external Americanism. Having lived always on the periphery of American life, having been denied even the limited participation of the larger community which is provided to the Japanese in Hawaii, it is not entirely surprising that they lack the enthusiasm for Americanism that we would particularly appreciate in wartime. It is usually the case that those who have been discriminated against are themselves most discriminating in their treatment of others, and it is not surprising that those who have been denied full democratic participation should cling most tenaciously to the former symbols of democracy in so far as it affects them. As a matter of fact, I would not be too sure that the AJA's of Hawaii, or even the haoles of Hawaii or the mainland, had they experienced the same long history of second-

rate citizenship, might not have reacted similarly to the Nisei on the mainland.

I hope you won't regard my comments as in the least critical of your point of view because I am very appreciative of what you have done for me and, as I said earlier, I regard your reaction as "typically American." My comments have been rather by way of some slight extenuation for the general reaction which you quite properly speak of as the beaten dog complex.

.....
.....

December 18, 1944

Dear Mr. _____,

I have carried your letter of July 15 all this time, all this distance to India. My "G.I. odyssey" has given me a chance to see a considerable part of this country, but to relate all this would take volumes. I welcomed this chance to see the East and feel that it is one great living class in Sociology-Anthropology and that is one class that I will never regret having taken. Some of the reactions and experiences I have gone through can hardly be described in words, for there is a certain mystery, violence and romance about India that retains its impression over the pitiful filth, poverty, disease, lowliness, superstition, and backwardness that makes India a country all of its own. India is a tragic, awe-inspiring sight that a visitor will never forget. And when I think of the education and broadening experience I am going thru, I feel it is worth all the hardship and loneliness of leaving home and loved ones all this time. I certainly would like to see China some time and even get over and see Japan for myself—all this a continuation of my "G.I. odyssey," of course.

After reading your reply, I realized that my analysis of the Nisei was very harsh and critical—truly "a thorough excoriation of them"; but while I maintain that much of my criticism still holds true, I feel that I neglected to bring out their virtues. But more than that, I failed to follow up and analyze the many shortcomings in the actions and attitudes of the Hawaiian AJA's, many of whom are guilty of the same faults attributed to the "Nisei" (a term they use, but which I dislike). I noticed many faults among fellow Hawaiians that I attributed to the mainland Nisei, for example, fraternizing exclusively among themselves.

We Hawaiians, too, seem conditioned to an introverted psychology, almost incurably so. The AJA's here have all the chance in the world to form close friendships with other G.I.'s from the states, but I see very few cases where they associate with any but fellow Hawaiians. Perhaps one should not blame them for taking the line of least resistance, but I hate to see this opportunity to further Americanize themselves and to acquaint the G.I.'s with their own better characteristics go to waste. I myself have made fast friendships with several G.I.'s who accept me wholeheartedly and provide me with a further

taste of American culture, wit and understanding, at its best. Unfortunately, this experience tends to make me something of a "strange fellow" among my fellow Hawaiians, and this is a source of considerable regret to me.

It isn't that the Hawaiians are entirely introverted—the boys are as cheery and as friendly as can be expected of any "Kanaka," but it doesn't take the form of free social intermingling in a unit full of friendly, intelligent fellows. It is rather a cultural deficiency in which the Hawaiians' activities are confined to going shopping, playing the inevitable poker, and drinking beer with no time or interest for reading, going on educational sight-seeing trips, or trying to learn a little of this country, its people, and its culture. It is a psychological rut out of which few emerge, but there is also a definite feeling of inferiority that makes them reluctant to mingle freely with Caucasians—a trait ingrained by their background and their limited contacts at home.

A mainland Nisei with whom I was talking about this slow Americanization said he thought it stemmed from the Oriental family system—the parental domination over the children which delays their maturity and robs them of independence, initiative, and poise. Most Nisei in their early 20's are still like adolescents. When the young Nisei were rebuffed in their attempts to fraternize outside the Japanese communities, their parents would say, "See? You can never forget you are 'nihonjin'" (Japanese). This domineering control by the parents seems to be the greatest factor in delaying Nisei Americanization; and, of course, we have the very same problem to contend with in Hawaii. I recognize that the West could stand a little more of filial piety and respect, but when the exercise of parental authority dwarfs the spirit and character of his children, I say it is wrong. So when the AJA's, both in the states and in Hawaii, exhibit an ostrich complex, it undoubtedly stems from an inner conflict of the old and the new raging within them.

I suppose that only time and the gradual disappearance of the first generation will bring any great change in the character of the AJA's, although I have heard that the impact of the war and the martial law helped to break the parental supremacy in many homes in Hawaii. But this "ostrich complex" and the traditional Oriental reticence are foremost reasons why the American people at large do not know any more about the AJA's than they do, and the only solution is for the Nisei to get out and mix with people openly and freely. Army life has provided one excellent opportunity for fraternizing, and the greater intermingling of the G.I.'s with the peoples in the Islands is another forward step.

In the same vein, I maintain that evacuation and relocation were a blessing in disguise for the mainland Nisei, whether they realize it or not. It showed them for one thing that there are forty-seven other states in which to settle. It showed many of them that living huddled together in a readily recognized ghetto was not the way to be accepted into the American community.

Many of those who have relocated in the Middle West and Eastern states will not go back to the Pacific Coast. I only hope they have the courage and faith in themselves and in the American people to see it through. We in Hawaii will have to get out and make our community more cosmopolitan than it is.

I believe that although the AJA's as a whole have made great progress in earning their rightful place in American life—through activities both on the war fronts and the home front—we are foolish to believe that the situation will be as favorable as after the guns are silenced and people are no longer under the flag-waving psychology, but instead are looking for jobs and a place to live. The G.I. of Japanese ancestry will not have his uniforms and ribbons to show his merit, but will be just another American looking for his daily bread. I foresee a long up-hill struggle for the AJA's on their road to acceptance and full participation.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF HAWAII AS REVEALED THROUGH THE LETTERS OF DOROTHY DIX

BARBARA BOWN

This article developed from one of the undergraduate research courses at the University of Hawaii. It is an unusual study of social change and disorganization as revealed in the letters to Dorothy Dix. The disproportionate sex ratio in Hawaii, accentuated as a result of the war, provides the most important clue to the problems discussed in this article.—Editors

The letters to Dorothy Dix reveal many problems of the community which otherwise might pass unnoticed. These letters are usually written by people who are in dire need of advice and help and who feel that writing to Dorothy Dix is one way of securing assistance in solving their problems. Thus, interesting information and material dealing with the social problems of the community can often be found in the frank letters of "love and life" sent to Dorothy Dix.

The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* is one of the two largest daily newspapers in Honolulu. It has a wide circulation and reaches nearly all groups in Hawaii. The Dorothy Dix column is a syndicated column printed daily in many mainland newspapers. The problems printed in the *Star-Bulletin* are usually real problems of real people. Sometimes, however, letters of purely imaginary characters are received. These are usually spotted by the staff members and are disposed of. At other times, letters are sent in by persons who are so emotionally disturbed that they are unable to express their problems clearly, and these are not published.

Generally, only few changes are made in the content of the letters. However, long letters are cut, leaving only the portions dealing with the problem to be published. Pseudonyms such as "Perplexed," "Troubled One," "Handsome but Lonesome," etc., are usually substituted for real names.

Letters are mailed to the editor of the *Star-Bulletin* and are then sent to Dorothy Dix. However, if any specific problem requires immediate advice, the letter is studied by a competent staff member of the *Star-Bulletin*. Sometimes the writer is referred to a local doctor, clinic, or social agency. This occurs only when the problem is acute and mere advice is useless. Usually when the case involves one of race relations in Hawaii, it is answered by one of the staff members of the *Star-Bulletin* who is more or less acquainted with the racial situation of the islands. In such case the staff has the permission to sign Dorothy Dix's name to the answers written by them. A sincere effort is made to help the writer arrive at a wise and satisfactory solution. Many letters of thanks are received daily from those who have received helpful advice.

I

Before the vast influx of mainland men to Hawaii, the problems that appeared in Dorothy Dix's column were primarily those that developed out of existing cultural and racial differences among the diverse groups of people. Many of them were results of conflict between the first and second generations. Such problems usually involved parental opposition to marriages of sons or daughters to persons of different racial backgrounds. Parents often issued an oral ultimatum of "conform or get out." Some of the racial dogmas of the older generation have been passed on to their children. On the other hand, the second generation boys and girls have shared experiences in school and on the play ground without giving much serious thought to these racial dogmas. Thus many of them have married outside of their racial groups, ignoring the barriers that had been maintained by their parents. Following is an example of this type of problem:

I am an employee at Pearl Harbor, 24 years of age, and part Spanish-Filipino. I am deeply in love with a Japanese boy who is the same age as I am.

Miss Dix, do you think that if I married him we would live happily even if our nationality differs? My father said he would disown me if I married I love my family very much, but if I married I would be treated as an outcast by my family Would my prospective "in-laws" take me as one of the family?

Another problem, which existed prior to the migration of "mainlanders" to these islands in such large number, was the conflict that arose between the old and young generations in regard to marriages within the same racial group, but with different social status. This idea of social or class distinction was usually based on the economic status of a family or on the region of the homeland from which the "old folks" came. For example, in the case of the Japanese, the Naichis (people from Japan proper) looked down on the Okinawans (people from the Ryukyu Islands). Likewise, among the Chinese and Filipinos, different regions held prestige over others; and people from these regions regarded the others as inferior, culturally and economically. This letter explains the nature of these problems:

I have been married for about two and a half months now and am very happy. But my parents did not consent to my getting married. Though he speaks a different language from us, he is of the same nationality So now my parents do not want us to see them or talk to them, although my husband and I love them and want them to be happy with us. So my problem is shall we go on visiting them or just don't go any more? (Which I can't do.)—Troubled One.

This type of problem still exists, as it does also in continental United States among groups which have clung to their traditional racial and national heritages. In Hawaii, although there seems to be, superficially, harmony between the various ethnic groups, there are still feelings of superiority and inferiority between and within them.

Previously, in the islands, Oriental women did not mingle with Haole men on a basis of social equality. Some mingling did occur, to be sure, but it was uncommon for an Oriental school girl or working girl to have regular dates with Haole men. In professional circles, Haole and Oriental men and women mingled frequently, but the usual working or school girl lived within her social world.

II

The war, however, changed this picture almost completely. Army and Navy war projects brought thousands of male workers to the islands. These, together with the service personnel, changed the sex ratio considerably. Men who had been living a normal civilian life on the mainland, suddenly found themselves inhabitants of "bachelor towns" or military camps. They naturally sought feminine companionship whenever, however, or wherever they could. Since Haole girls are few in number on the islands, the men turned to Oriental, Hawaiian, and Portuguese girls, and girls belonging to the many other racial groups found here. Thus, for the first time, many non-Haole girls were dating Haole men regularly and frequently. Many of them found the new acquaintances interesting. In some cases, real companionship and love developed, and marriages often resulted. In other cases, serious problems developed out of the "exploitation" of island girls. Whatever the motives behind these relationships, merely to have fun, companionship, friendship, or marriage, the result has been a large increase in the problems of the community as revealed by the letters to Dorothy Dix.

First among these problems was how to make acquaintances. Many service men and defense workers have sent in letters to Dorothy Dix asking for help in meeting nice girls. The following letters are representative of numerous appeals of the same kind:

My problem is that I would like to get acquainted with a Hawaiian-Chinese girl about 16 or 20 years of age, or if you can't locate a girl of that description, any nationality will do.

..... In your column Tuesday you had a Lady Lonesome Ex-Wife. Her husband run off with a grass skirt. I am a navy worker and have heard so much about these native head hunters that I am afraid of the grass skirts and thought you might get us together. As I too am lonesome and not being a drinking man, don't like to go to a show by myself. Beach same way. So we could spend one pleasant eve somewhere out of each week. If she isn't available, maybe you have someone else that a fellow wouldn't be afraid to be out with

Making friends was a serious problem for the newcomers. For the Island parents, especially of the immigrant generation, the greatest difficulty was in keeping their daughters at home. Their worries increased with the number of men in the islands—men of different cultural backgrounds. While before the war the problem of interracial dating and marrying was confined to the existing racial groups, since December 7, it has assumed a

wider scope including Caucasian groups from the Mainland.

In spite of objections from parents, more and more girls began to date service men and war workers. Inter-racial marriages began to appear more and more frequently and with them the problems of marital adjustment. In this letter to Dorothy Dix, we read of a family's reaction to a proposed inter-racial marriage:

But here is the whole situation: Her mother and one brother like me very much and are always so very nice to me, but the rest of her family are very different and even rude at times. I know it hurts her deeply to see her family scorn her for being in love with a Haole, and I had rather be dead than to see her hurt. We can, of course, say to heck with friends and the rest of the world and try to be happy in our own little world

The problem was a serious one especially for the Oriental groups, where old-world traditions and customs had been perpetuated through strong family relations. The problem did not affect so seriously the part-Hawaiians and other mixed groups who had already entered into the process of inter-marriage on a large scale before the war. In such cases the war brought many eligible young men to the islands and many girls in these groups have taken advantage of the situation.

New problems arose as the local girls continued to date Mainlanders. Would they be taken home as wives? If so, how would they be accepted by their in-laws and by people in the community? This problem of being accepted on the Mainland was greater for the Oriental girls who had to face the possibility of strong anti-Oriental prejudice in some sections of the country. The local girls also feared desertion by the men after the war. Rumors of such treatment were common in the community. Thus many of the girls hesitated in choosing between the mainlanders and the local boys. The mainlanders were attractive to them, but they felt that the local boys were safer in the long run. The following letters illustrate the conflicting feelings among the girls:

I am in love with three different men Please tell me, Miss Dix, if I should go on with this or stop it, for there's a very nice local boy who used to go with me and with whom I am still in love and can probably get him back with a little encouragement

..... I am very deeply in love with a service man and he says he loves me and has taken me out a good deal Miss Dix, I like him very much, but I am nervous about going away from Hawaii. I am afraid his people will not like me because you see we are of a different race, and I do not think he has told them that

Even the casual observer cannot fail to notice the ways in which the Mainlanders and Islanders try to attract the attention of the all-too-few girls. Techniques differ: The Mainlanders "have a way about them" and approach the girls in appealing ways; the Island boys are frank, abrupt, and outspoken in their

overtures, and this appears to be one of the reasons why they are rejected by the girls. Difference in techniques, perhaps, can best be understood in the light of cultural differences. Local boys have had no significant standards, no sure guide posts to follow in acquiring a suitable courting manner. To be sure, manners are taught in school, and books on etiquette are readily accessible. These, however, in the absence of concrete examples around them, mean little to Island boys of high school age. A boy who observes the rules of etiquette too scrupulously is often labeled "sissy." This, however, does not hold true as the boys get older. The following letter reflects some of the problems of proper behavior:

There is one criticism of many local boys—which I think is sound When they (local boys) whistle at us or speak to us on the street and we do not answer them, too often they will follow up with insulting remarks. Many times when I go out, local boys will say "hello" and I don't know them so I just keep walking Then they make bad remarks, sometimes indecent remarks These boys seem to think it is smart to act like that. Yet these same boys will complain because local girls show preference to service men

Some of the girls seem to find pleasure in receiving the attention of the Mainlanders and at the same time keeping the Island boys remotely interested, pacifying them for the moment with reassurances that although they go on dates with Mainlanders now, they are "looking toward the future with our own Island boys." These girls recognize the difficulties involved in any form of a permanent attachment to the Mainlanders; they realize that only an occasional one is a feasible "catch." In many cases, girls lose control of the situation and become victims of illegitimate pregnancy. Many girls marry to solve the problem, but in either case they are looked upon with scorn by the local boys and ostracized by the social groups of the Islands.

One girl told everyone interested in the back page of the *Star-Bulletin* that Island girls know what they are doing:

I don't blame the local boys for getting sort of angry with us Island girls. I am a girl 23 years old and I know lots of Mainland Haoles. But as far as I know, we Island girls are just going out with Mainland Haoles for good clean fun, but for taking any of them seriously I don't think any Island girl would be so foolish, because I do know that the girls know one out of ten Mainland Haoles will stay back after the war. So local boys, please don't write and say that we local girls are foolish to go out with the Haoles. Island girls know what they are doing

"Moral standards are shattered—families go on the rocks—social breakdown is rife. Where are the mores?" These thoughts are very disconcerting, even to the irreligious. As a matter of fact, deserting wives and mothers are found all over the world; they are not unique in Hawaii. However, there is little question but that war has greatly increased the phenomenon of desertion. Contented mothers before the war are no longer contented;

happy wives are no longer happy. Like their unmarried sisters, they too have come into contact with men of different cultural backgrounds. Change, to them, is the spice of life. The following are a few instances of domestic family disruptions:

. My wife met a soldier. She says she had nothing to do with him but friendship. I am suspicious as she acts very differently now She has been going with the soldier for some time But my wife denies everything and I hate that. I have the letters proving that she is interested in the soldier very much What shall I do? We have four children and I am working at the navy yard.

I am a married man with three swell children and a lovely wife whom I love Many a time she comes home late in the night. As a husband I naturally asked her why she comes home late Questioning her so often made her confess that she had been going with a Haole defense worker She never did reveal that she is a married woman with three children She disregarded her entire family to retain friendship with the Haole guy

III

The next problem represents a psychological conflict within the individual. This type of problem is not new and is not unique in the Islands. Here is a Mainlander torn between two conflicting forces—the ideal against the real. Individuals who are emotionally unstable find it increasingly difficult to reconcile their ideals with cold, hard realities of the world. This is especially true in wartime, when the distinction between morality and immorality is not too clear. Here is a letter from a man who is trying to do the right thing for his wife, but he cannot stop worrying about her during his long absence. What he really wants from Dorothy Dix is reassurance.

I am 21 years of age, have been married one year to a very wonderful girl Now I'm here and she's on the mainland. We have been together exactly four months out of our marriage Since I left my wife I wrote and told her to go out and have fun and that all I wanted is for her to be happy. I am very jealous yet I do not wish for my wife to sit home all the time twiddling her thumbs. But do you think I am doing right by telling her to go out if she wishes?

Oversea-soldiers worry about wives left behind, frequently not without cause. Records show that the great majority of mental cases in the armed services are not the direct result of ordeals encountered in combat, but rather the result of family worries. Unscrupulous women see nothing in wartime marriage except a means of collecting allotments and insurance policies. There has been a case in Hawaii where a girl had been wife to five different service men at the same time.

Because he is stripped of all the social ties of civilian life, the man in the service attempts to build new ones—even to the point of committing himself to a girl he has never met and about whose affections he is very uncertain. People who have nothing

to go on but memories have a tendency to glorify their memories. A lonesome man or girl may put his friend on a pedestal, and as separation lengthens, time may dim the faults and hide the clay feet of the absentee. A "paper romance" built from writing letters lacking in reserve may result. This letter illustrates how the girl has fooled herself almost well enough to convince this confused soldier:

..... I am a soldier of 25 years writing to a girl in states. Although I have never seen her, she tells me in her letters that she loves me. I sent her my picture, but I haven't received her picture as yet. I get a letter a week from her. Do you think she loves me?

Had the war not disrupted their courtship, the writer of this next letter and his girl friend would probably have continued courting each other and eventually married. War came! The boy enlisted and, after a year's service, he feels he cannot marry her. The rejection may have been based on the unusual conditions and adjustments required in warfare; it is difficult to say.

..... I met a girl from my home town of Bemidji, Minnesota, and we were attracted to each other. We started to go out quite often and it bloomed into a sort of steady courtship. Soon after I joined the navy and now after twelve months in the service, I find that I like this girl very much, but could never find myself being married to her Although we never spoke of an engagement or marriage, her letters continuously mention children, a home, and just about everything that goes with marriage

The separation of people creates one of the most serious domestic problems of the war. It not only builds up delusions of love, but it makes true lovers afraid that love will grow cold.

I am 28 years old and have gone with a man whom I love Four months ago he started working for the government, which took him away from here. He says he will only be able to come home about once a year and that in the meantime we go about with our old friends and make new ones Separation has always seemed the end of everything, especially love His letters already appear to have a cold tone

Separation resulting from wartime conditions seems to be the precipitating cause for unwarranted suspicion and jealousy as reflected in the following letter:

..... I am 27 years old and married for five years. My husband was drafted in the army five months ago and he comes home twice a month. When he comes home, he accuses me of going out with other men and he starts beating me for that I work every day and I love him very much and have no time to fool around with other men Shall I leave him or keep staying with him ?

Immediately after the blitz of December 7, many residents became panicky and sought passage to the safer mainland of the United States. Women and children not necessary to the de-

fense of the Islands were urged to evacuate to the Mainland and many did so. As the enemy was pushed farther and farther back, and as conditions here became better, the evacuees came trickling back into the Islands to join their husbands and fathers. In some cases, these wives came back to husbands who, during the period of separation, had established intimate relationships with other women as the following letter suggests:

..... Because of the war, I had to go to the mainland. Now I have come back to find my husband going with another woman. My husband is still good to me and I love him. Is it right that he visit this person and take her to the movies and leave me at home to mind our children? This person used to be my friend She does not care that my heart is breaking

The war with its disruption of the normal processes of life and the removal of the normal restraints, has encouraged greatly a life of pleasure-seeking. Men who are far away from home and those who care, are likely to seek satisfactions wherever and however they can, as the following letters illustrate:

..... Before entering the service some months back, I was very much in love with a high school girl We became engaged ten months prior to my entry

After being in the Islands a few months, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a very nice Island girl. This girl informed me that she is going to be the mother of my child.

If I were sure this unborn baby is mine, I feel it my duty to give the baby and mother a very nice home. I know of several instances where she has had affairs with another man

..... I met a soldier and love him very much. When we had any troubles, we came to each other to solve it out between us.

..... I'm from another island and after we had known each other for some time, he was transferred here in Honolulu. Before he could write to me, I came here on the plane and ever since then we don't know the whereabouts of each other. He doesn't know that I have a baby from him

Teen-age youngsters also have been caught in this melee of social disorganization. They have seen their older sisters "get by" violating the mores, and they, too, have become impatient for a free life. It may be that social control is less effective among youths in their teens than among those girls in their twenties who are interested in getting married and are at least willing to abide by some of the customs of society. In some instances, adolescent girls are exploited by men old enough to be their fathers.

I am 15 years old going with the same boy for six months. He says he loves me; and I adore him. He is 38 years old and has three children by a previous marriage. My mother has told me that I am not old enough to keep a home for him and his children due to the fact that his oldest child is 17 years old

Here is an example of a typical adolescent infatuation so prevalent among the teen-age girls:

..... I met and fell in love with a sailor from the Mainland He told me of his love for me and I told him that I was in love with him. As I am only 16 and he is 25, my mother refused to let us marry. Should we continue going with each other until I am old enough to marry or should we stop ?

IV

Through Dorothy Dix's column we perceive a tremendous under-current of social change, particularly with respect to the moral order. There is little doubt that these changes are outgrowths of the war—the terrific influx of service personnel and war workers and the consequent unbalancing of the normal sex ratio. Wherever such disproportionate sex ratios appear, problems of illegitimacy, desertion, and family tensions are bound to arise. These are among the unsuspected and unmeasurable costs of the war.

HAWAII'S WARTIME HEALTH AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

BERNHARD L. HORMANN

The First Eighteen Months of the War

The intimate relationship between mental and physical health, between social and physical welfare, is being given increasing recognition. In the public health movement, the importance of a hygienic community has long been recognized as important to the health of individuals. In such fields as psychiatry, psychosomatic medicine, the close connection between emotional tensions and certain physical symptoms is no longer questioned. There is now developing also an interest in the problem of the relationship between phenomena of collective behavior, such as morale, social unrest and mass fear, and physical health. The concern of the War Research Laboratory with the observations of Honolulu physicians of the health of the people in the first critical period of the war can thus be easily understood.

In the period from December, 1942, to March, 1943, the members of the research staff interviewed 54 physicians in all medical fields and of various racial ancestries: 27 haoles (including one Portuguese), one Korean, 8 Chinese, and 17 Japanese (including two aliens). The great majority were interviewed by the writer of the following digest, herself the wife of a physician.

As a general guide in the interviews, the following questionnaire was used. It was usually submitted to the physician several days before the interview. The response of the members of the medical profession was courteous, often generous.

Questionnaire

1. What notable changes in the types of difficulties presented by your patients have you observed since the war? Are there more or less cases of mental disturbances? Among what types of persons? racial and occupational groups?
2. Has there been any notable shift in the problems of communicable diseases since the Seventh?
3. What effects upon the health of the community can you ascribe to the blackout?
4. Has there been any significant shift in the incidence of certain types of diseases or in the resistance to the disease as a consequence of the long hours of work required by the war? As a consequence of inadequate or improper diet occasioned by the war? Are there any other factors growing out of the war which constitute important health hazards?
5. What serious difficulties in the practice of medicine have been introduced into the local situation as a result of the war? the reduction of civilian medical staff? the lack of certain types of drugs? the diversion of nurses into war duties? the pressure upon hospital facilities?
6. What changes have you noted in the attitudes of your patients? toward the observance of normal health precautions?

toward the medical profession? toward the conventional moral standards?

The summary was written almost immediately after the intensive period of interviewing; and in the more than two years since then, much has happened to modify the conditions frequently commented on by the physicians. Mrs. Lam's article does not, of course, comment on these changes. It deals with the first year and a half of the war.

Discussion of Issues Raised

About several points the doctors Mrs. Lam interviewed were obviously in disagreement. These are perhaps the most significant points because they indicate problems for further intensive research and careful analysis.

Thus, it is apparent in Mrs. Lam's article that the effect of the blackout and curfew on the health of the people is a point of disagreement. Actually this problem was much more complex than popularly assumed: The blackout and curfew were so involved in the various changes of the whole way of life that it would have been difficult to isolate them as factors. The actual blackout and curfew conditions varied radically from family to family. Some homes did no blacking-out of windows because no one did much reading. They spent the evenings in the dark and so were able to keep their windows open. Large families in small blacked-out rooms obviously suffered more discomfort than small families in large blacked-out homes. The financial ability of a family to buy sufficient cloth so that several rooms could be blacked out and to buy ventilators contrasted with homes that had so many cracks in the walls that actually it was impossible to black them out to the satisfaction of the air raid wardens. If night after night the same three or four persons had to depend on one another's company that was one thing; if there was a great deal of visiting among a group of congenial neighbors, that was another. It is for reasons such as these that any supposed effects could not with certainty be attributed to the blackout.

The way the local Japanese have reacted to the war is another point of disagreement. It is difficult because of the great population shifts to know the exact numbers of each population group, and it is therefore difficult to establish reliable rates which can be used for comparative purposes. A psychiatrist said to the present writer in 1944 that the Japanese could be divided into three groups: those who had withdrawn or gone to pieces; those who had maintained their equilibrium; and those who had become aggressive and cocky.

Developments since Summer, 1943

A few of the changes occurring since the writing of this article will now be listed.

1. Martial law was, after a process of gradual relinquishment, finally abolished by President Roosevelt's proclamation of October 24, 1944.

2. Important restrictions have been eliminated. The blackout was gradually relaxed. In the period after July 15, 1943, a complete blackout in all homes was required only after ten in the evening; and on May 4, 1944, the blackout was completely eliminated.

3. After a period of intense public discussion, prostitution, which had been openly condoned, was rigorously suppressed, beginning September 21, 1944, when the fifteen odd houses which had been operating quite openly were closed.

4. The hospitals which the O.C.D. had opened soon after the Blitz, had to be closed on account of the lack of funds. This occurred late in 1944.

5. Several epidemics or near-epidemics have confronted the community. In the summer of 1943, Hawaii had its first cases of dengue fever. In April, 1943, there was a poliomyelitis scare, but no true epidemic developed. In June and July, 1945, authorities were concerned with an influenza epidemic, the number of cases reported at one time coming close to 6,000.

6. The curfew was abolished on July 7, 1945, just a month before the surrender of Japan.

7. It is thus clear that present conditions are different from those prominent in Mrs. Lam's discussion. This means that similar surveys at more recent dates would have revealed different but equally interesting observations and several important problems.

Issues in this Period

The effect of various policies of prostitution afforded an excellent research opportunity, which the public health authorities made some use of, in regard to the relation between suppression and the spread of venereal disease. But not all research possibilities were exploited. The relationship of suppression to such phenomena as illegitimacy rates and sex crimes could have been systematically explored, and the general sexual attitudes of men in the barracks situated in communities where suppression was the rule as contrasted with those situated in communities where prostitution was open.

Only recently, in June and July, the newspapers carried comments by prominent local physicians regarding renewed recruitment by the services of civilian physicians. There was apparently not complete agreement among the local physicians whether the civilian population of the Islands has available a sufficient number of physicians for adequate medical care. Because of the uncertainty about the population of many sections of the United States including Hawaii, at the present time, it is of course impossible to make any correct comparison of the physician-population ratio in various communities. On one side it is argued that the large number of male war workers away from home require more than the normal amount of care from physicians, dentists, and nurses, because they are not able to get the minor care that women in the home usually give. It is

also pointed out that in every Island home burdens have increased tremendously. Women are doing more work in the community while at the same time having far less household help than before the Blitz. Vacations involving a real change are completely impossible for most local residents. There are no cheap family hotels in the Islands. Several of the relatively few camping areas and beaches available to the public have been taken over completely by the armed forces. Day-by-day recreation such as attendance at motion picture theaters is made difficult even at neighborhood theaters, because of the presence in overwhelming numbers of servicemen. Twice during epidemics, military authorities restricted the movement of servicemen. During the dengue epidemic in the summer of 1943, there was a brief period when servicemen were not allowed in Waikiki, one of the main recreational areas in Honolulu and the one containing the major motion picture theater. In the summer of 1945, during the influenza epidemic, servicemen were not allowed to enter civilian theaters. On both occasions it was interesting to note comments of relief from civilians at the sudden elimination of congestion. It is perhaps also true in Honolulu that because of the complex interracial structure of the community, there is less mutual aid among neighbors than in more homogeneous mainland communities.

On the other side it is argued that this community has received many special advantages because of the presence of the armed forces, which are always ready to step in when there are emergencies. Servicemen, for instance, were used extensively as mosquito inspectors and were very helpful in virtually eradicating dengue from the community. Physicians of the armed forces would help if a major crisis ever demanded it.

The racial angle was also involved in several interesting ways in this recent problem. While doctors of all racial groups have declared their willingness, even eagerness, to be recruited, the services in practice seldom accept Oriental physicians. To the extent that Caucasian patients refuse to consult Oriental physicians, the burden of the remaining civilian Caucasian physicians is increased. Some persons also feel that the non-Caucasian physicians reap an unfair financial benefit over his Caucasian colleague who enters the services. The Oriental physician, in turn, resents such an attitude, particularly when he has volunteered his services, but has been declared "unavailable."

A recent questionnaire given in May, 1945, to almost 300 students of two classes at the University of Hawaii was designed to give us a little information on some of the points at issue. The students were asked to indicate about various "recent war-time restrictions, hardships, and problems," the degree of their worry or annoyance. They could do this on a five-point scale indicating extreme, great, moderate, slight, non-existent annoyance. In percentages the following degrees of annoyance were expressed by the whole group:

	extreme	great	moderate	slight	non-existent
Difficulty of getting all kinds of meat	9.1	14.0	27.4	29.1	20.4
Difficulty of getting other kinds of food	1.8	5.6	35.6	40.8	16.2
Continued ten o'clock curfew	7.1	12.7	23.0	31.8	25.4
Poor health on your part or in your family	4.5	5.9	9.8	25.8	54.0
Difficulty of getting good medical care	1.1	2.5	11.6	26.0	58.9
Difficulty of getting into the movies	4.6	10.4	30.0	41.4	13.6
Difficulty of getting other kinds of recreation	3.2	14.7	26.2	34.4	21.5

The fact that the questionnaire was given at the height of the meat shortage is clearly indicated, because the percentage of students, 23.1%, who expressed great or extreme concern about it was greater than for the other six difficulties in the list. The continued ten o'clock curfew comes second in rank, while difficulties of getting recreation came next. The percentage of students who felt slight or non-existent concern was highest in regard to the difficulty of getting good medical care or having poor health in the family, 84.9% and 79.8%. For these students, obviously health problems were of almost no significance. These data are pertinent and suggestive, but by no means conclusive.

MEDICAL PRACTICE DURING THE FIRST EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF THE WAR

AH CHIN L. LAM

Hawaii has always been considered one of the strategic outposts in the Pacific, but its importance was never so fully realized as on December 7, 1941. The immense scale and speed with which the defense projects had to be carried out, necessitated the further importation of thousands of war workers from the Mainland. This influx of men together with the exodus of many women and children to the States during the first few months of the war and the substitution of martial law for civilian government with its numerous strict wartime regulations, such as blackout orders, mass immunization against certain diseases, etc., have brought about many fundamental changes in the community, educationally, politically, socially, economically, spiritually, and physically.

Perhaps no professional group is more favorably situated than the medical one to observe certain social changes. On the Seventh, the radio announcement that Oahu was being attacked by enemy planes was coupled with a call for doctors to duty at the various military and civilian hospitals. Thus were they made eye witnesses to some of the immediate horrors of the war and their effects on the people. Many of them worked frantically through the night and remained on duty for several days afterwards. During the first few months of the war, most of the physicians identified themselves with the blood bank or some first aid station, volunteering their time and service.

As one unit the medical profession answered the emergency call. In the period since then, it has continued to contribute much towards the protection of the health of the civilian community. This survey among 54 local physicians, representing all the various specialities, shows the following interesting observations made by members of the profession during the first eighteen months of the war.

Personal Maladjustment

War hysteria, abnormal living conditions, separation of families and breaking up of homes have affected us all. One psychiatrist insists that "None of us can escape. The real pressure on us, however, was not felt till a while later, and moreover the effects were cumulative. Changed conditions in our mode of life continued to increase so that we had more difficulties to which we had to adjust ourselves as time went on. Therefore, as the pressure bore down on us, those who did not have enough capacity for adjustment cracked up. The result is we have many more maladjusted individuals now than before the war." Records at the Mental Health Clinic reveal that from April to November, 1942, there was an increase in number of patients suffering all forms of mental disturbance, neuroses, and psychoses. Many doctors in private practice have also noticed

similar conditions. However, they do not agree on the racial distribution. A few contend that the breakdown has been more prevalent "among the younger Japanese" while others cannot say that it has occurred among any one race in particular.

Practically every doctor reports that the greater frenzy and nervousness which are noticeable have tended to aggravate previous physical troubles, such as ulcer, high blood pressure, allergy, sinus, skin trouble, or gastro-intestinal trouble.

The Japanese, on whom the pressure has been the greatest, might be expected to have been affected most, but actually that is not borne out by reports of the medical profession as a whole. In the first few weeks after the outbreak of hostilities, a dermatologist was impressed by the "great percentage of Japanese who came in for treatment and who had never had neurodermatitis or any history of it." He also noted "a marked upgrade in cutaneous disease among the families of the armed forces . . . and also a definite upgrade following air raid alarms, especially about the time of the Midway Battle." As much as he hated to say so, one doctor claimed that the Portuguese showed the greatest symptoms of nervousness.

Children in general were stable and have shown no mental turmoil. They look to their parents for security. Therefore, they react as the older members of the family do. The problem of child neglect by working parents was, however, mentioned by several physicians.

Office, Clinic, and Hospital Care

The office practice of physicians, excepting that of enemy aliens, increased to such an extent that the men in the profession have felt very much overworked. As one of them expressed it: "I think increased demands are made on the medical men by virtue of the increased population, decrease in number of doctors, and a decrease in available qualified medical personnel, such as nurses, secretaries, etc. This is made worse by the fact that people as a whole have money and now desire to purchase service. I have no more charitable cases now." Free clinic patients have dropped, according to one doctor, 50%. Another doctor whose patients are 75 per cent defense workers said, "Defense workers would come for little things which ordinarily people would treat themselves, such as colds or a little scratch. One reason for this is the fact that they must get sick leave certificates in order to go back to work, if they have laid off. . . ." Due to the extra load of office patients, the physicians are aware that their service has not been of the quality they themselves would desire it to be.

The mass immunization against typhoid and smallpox required by the military governor at the outset of the war no doubt also contributed greatly to the unprecedented load and consequent prosperity of all the doctors last year.

With few exceptions, the type of clientele of the individual doctors has remained about the same as before the war. Five

doctors have noted a change in the type and sex of their patients—a change from women and tourists to male defense workers.

After hostilities began, house and night calls were kept to a minimum by all the doctors, because of the pressure of time, the danger of night driving with dim lights in the blackout, and the difficulty of finding the place. Dr. Richard Chun at the City and County Emergency Hospital said: "The biggest effect of the blackout was the pressure on our ambulance service. Our personnel had to be increased two to three fold."

Aside from being overworked, the medicos have been faced with many difficult problems. "The pressure on hospital facilities is no joke," one of the leading surgeons of the city stated. Another physician gave this example: "I had to put him in a ward with 40 other men. There the radio was kept on loud and it was noisy all day. He couldn't improve until I finally managed to get him a private room." Twenty-nine other doctors have had similar experiences, due to greatly overcrowded conditions at the hospitals and "an absolute failure to provide adequate hospital facilities to take care of the civilians."

The shortage of nurses has also made it difficult to care for patients. Shortly after the "blitz," this shortage became so acute that hospital nurses were then frozen to their jobs till March 10, 1943.

The Blackout

Strictly enforced blackout regulations which have reached into every single home doubtless affected every individual in more ways than the physical and mental health of the people. Of the fifty-four physicians interviewed, the majority are of this opinion: "The blackout has no or very little bad effect on health as a whole. What little bad effect is offset by the beneficial effect. It forces people to have more rest, gives people more regular hours . . ."

However, two have noted the extreme opposite as shown in this statement: "I feel that any ill effects on the health of the people, mentally and physically since the Seventh, I would ascribe all to the blackout . . . There are many families who cannot buy electric fans and must all crowd into a small room. Ten or twelve of them would sit there sweltering in the heat, night after night. Now that is not conducive to good health, physically or mentally. If one has a weakness, it is now made more apparent."

"The blackout has an adverse effect, mainly through the disrupting of social opportunities and detracting us from our various interests and satisfaction in all our lives. It has then, in a way, contributed to lowering our ability to deal with other problems and probably in a degree interferes with the efficiency of us all."

Close physical contact and poor ventilation resulting from the enforcement of blackout regulations may have facilitated the spread of respiratory and other contagious diseases. Dr. Joseph Lam at Palama Settlement has made the unique observation of

"a marked increase of head dermatitis caused by lice, due to poor ventilation in the blacked out rooms, closer personal contact, and definitely to overcrowded conditions." On the other hand, another physician has noted "the blackout is beneficial because when the schools and theaters were closed and the blackout and curfew enforced, there was a decrease in infectious diseases. Whenever people are gregarious, they spread diseases."

From the angle of family life, some interesting observations have been noted. In some cases, closer contact within the immediate family makes for better understanding between the adults and better care and more attention for the children. However, on the other hand, one psychiatrist was of the opinion that the blackout with its consequent close family contacts has resulted in definite rifts in many families, for the reason that in those families "absence makes the heart grow fonder."

The greatest beneficial effect resulting from the enforcement of the blackout together with the curfew orders on vehicles was the tremendous drop of "two to three hundred per cent" in traffic accidents and injuries, according to Dr. Chun of the Emergency Hospital.

Food

The food problem looms large in the horizon of wartime Hawaii. Adequate and proper food is one of the essentials necessary for the maintenance of good health. Like England, Hawaii is not self-sufficient and has always depended upon food imported from the continental United States or elsewhere. As a natural consequence of the war, shipping was curtailed to a large extent and only the necessities of life were given priority in cargo space. Although food in general falls in that category, many items upon which we have been dependent for the necessary supply of vitamins were listed as luxuries rather than necessities. Besides, quite a large percentage of the population, especially those of Oriental ancestry, had been accustomed to many staples and special foods formerly imported from the land of their ancestry.

Prior to the war, a substantial portion of our green vegetables and fruits came from the mainland. When cargo and cold storage spaces are limited, these items are the first to be struck off from the shipping list. Our already insufficient supply of locally grown vegetables shrank further because many former truck farmers were attracted to more remunerative defense jobs, while some alien vegetable growers were interned. To make the situation worse, the smaller supply of food had to feed a greatly increased population. The only alleviating factor was the encouragement of home, school, and community victory gardens as well as commercial farming. The acute situation on Oahu was helped as inter-island shipping was restored.

This apparent shortage of certain items of food raises the question, "Does the average citizen of Honolulu suffer from inadequate food or vitamin deficiency?" The consensus of opinion among the medical men seems to be: "We have all the essential foods we want that are necessary for good health. Those who

are on special diets are the ones who suffer from the lack of certain foods required in their diet."

The above opinion was qualified by one of the doctors in the following words: "Inadequate and improper diet is a definite factor affecting the health of many people. I cannot honestly say there is actually not enough food, but the proper kind of food is not available to a large percentage of our working people. Both husband and wife work and can't shop early, and by the time they do shop, all the things have been picked over and there is none of the many essential foods as green vegetables, eggs, and meat left for the latecomers. Therefore, I would say that for a large class of people, there is not only inadequate food, but improper food available to them. They have worked hard and need proper food, but can't do anything but grab what they can, usually canned food. Nearly half of the people in that category are our local people and defense workers. Hence many must depend on restaurants and hot dog stands." Unfortunately in the restaurants, "many can't get milk, fruit juices, etc., and the food at the cantonments is simply terrible, sloppy and slimy. Good food there is ruined by improper cooking." The problem is further aggravated by the inadequate service in restaurants, early closing hours, overcrowding, etc.

A few doctors have noted vitamin deficiency due to the shortage of green vegetables and certain items for special diets. To remedy this situation, the use of synthetic vitamins has been encouraged so that no or "very few malnutritional cases" have been noticed. The housewives of Honolulu have also found it necessary to "substitute one accustomed food for another at times" and to use more of our local products as guava and papaya instead of mainland citrus fruits for the necessary supply of vitamin C. One doctor found it necessary "to educate the women in this respect." Therefore, the Honolulu housewife must tax her ingenuity to the utmost to give her family a properly balanced and interesting diet.

On the question of nutrition for T.B. patients, Dr. Dougan said: "Inability to make dietary adjustments or substitutions has been a difficulty particularly among certain war workers, some of whom have shown clinical evidence of definite dietary deficiencies attributed to the hardships of shopping before black-out or dislike for certain foods or inadequacy of provided subsistence."

As a war measure, fishing was prohibited, so the supply of local sea food was suddenly cut off. One possible effect of this lack of sea food formerly enjoyed by a large number of citizens of Honolulu is a very small increase of thyroid cases noted by two surgeons among their Chinese and Japanese patients. The incidence of thyroid had been practically negligible among the Japanese.

Long Hours of Work

The long hours of work required of defense workers over a long period of months has unquestionably caused a large number

of men and women to break down in health. It is regrettable that we have not learned as England has that "human efficiency is limited to say 40 hours a week and beyond that, a man's efficiency is nil." This mental and physical fatigue has undoubtedly contributed largely to the increase in illnesses, both psychic and organic.

Communicable Diseases

Modern warfare necessitates mass movements on the home front as well as on the actual battle front. Honolulu is especially affected by this mass movement of population, and on this point one doctor said, "Whenever there is a mass movement of population, every new group tends to introduce new strains of virus or bacteria." This is substantiated by the testimony of a number of doctors about an increase in certain diseases, such as acute catarrhal jaundice, poliomyelitis, influenza, pneumonia, although not all confirmed by Board of Health records. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that many of the cases were not severe enough to require reporting to the Board of Health, and doctors tend to be lax in sending records of all their reportable cases.

"I have noticed a great increase of upper respiratory diseases, mumps and whooping cough, but I don't know to what extent this is attributable to the war," was the opinion shared by at least twenty physicians in the city. They also claimed that these same diseases were just seasonal as was the case in previous years. Only the colds seemed to be of a "more severe type," due probably to the introduction of new strains of bacteria.

According to Dr. Dougan, Director of the Bureau of Tuberculosis, who can surely speak authoritatively on the question of tuberculosis in Hawaii, "War with mass movement and privation has always been accompanied by an increase in tuberculosis." Hawaii has proven to be no exception.

Three others in the profession have noted a slight increase of tuberculosis caused by a flaring up of formerly arrested cases.

Dr. Dougan has also made these very interesting observations: "Immediately after the violent enemy action on the Seventh, the untoward effect of fear and anxiety appeared with breakdown and hemorrhage in border-line tuberculosis, just as much as breakdown is experienced under sudden and intense emotional strain in peace time. Cases and contacts under observation had a tendency to lose weight . . . With the exception of a few cases that might have been pushed, as it were, into a progressive decline, weight losses quickly stabilized as the horror and fear of the first attack were forgotten in the necessities of defense.

"Two diverse and extreme reactions among tuberculosis cases and contacts, as among others under war strain, were observed. Some were seized with an irresistible urge to action and required restraint; others were depressed into a state of abject apathy and required special attention. It is not possible to report that any particular race reacted in any characteristic way."

Mass immunization against typhoid has resulted in a de

crease of the disease, according to Dr. Enright. However, he feels there is a greater danger of spreading diseases like malaria and yellow fever by the introduction of malaria mosquitoes and yellow fever patients by long distance bombers.

Venereal Disease

Prostitution, which is as old as civilization itself, is one evil within a community, especially a military post, that challenges the citizenry for a solution. A certain doctor said, "Something ought to be done about prostitution, but I hardly know what to suggest." The doctors are interested in this question only in so far as the spread of venereal diseases is concerned. At least 75 per cent of the doctors interviewed seemed to dismiss the question rather lightly by saying, "I don't know whether venereal diseases are increasing or decreasing," or "I don't handle them. Dr. Allison, director of the Bureau of Venereal Diseases of the Board of Health will know." A few of them have not noticed any marked change in the situation, while five did find a slight increase. Dr. Allison is rather of the opinion that the trend of venereal diseases has gone slightly down, but it has nothing to do with the control of prostitutes. He further said, "It is impossible to tell what changes in the incidence of venereal diseases have occurred among the civilians, because, as you know, reports by private physicians are entirely unsatisfactory. For example, when the military people turned in their reports, the figures for one month jumped from 90 to 160 cases. We know the increase was certainly not that great. It simply indicated that more cases were reported Population figures are not available so it is impossible to figure the rate of increase or decrease I am not at liberty to report on the military population, although I know it has gone down."

According to one doctor, "The venereal diseases I do see among war workers are 90 per cent attributed to prostitutes or professional women." To this, Dr. Allison agreed, "We have ample evidence that most new cases of venereal diseases arise from professionals because their patronage is greater than that of other women." For that reason, he favors the repression of professional houses. So far as he knows, "there has been no importation" since the Seventh, but "there has been a recruiting into the profession from among the local ex-prostitutes." However, he firmly believes that education is more effective than the control of prostitutes in our efforts to prevent the spread of venereal diseases.

The medical profession as a whole seems to be proud of the fact that the rate of venereal diseases in Hawaii is lower than the Mainland rate or any other community under similar conditions.

Pregnancy and Birth

In spite of nervousness and uncertainty of war conditions, the stork has been working overtime. Without exception, the obstetricians have noticed a definite increase in the number of pregnancies and babies, legitimate and illegitimate. Regarding

illegitimacy, one obstetrician found "the most significant thing since the Blitz is the increase of illegitimate babies."

For several weeks immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor premature births were quite common among expectant mothers due to the sudden tension. In some cases, expectant mothers got so worried over the probability of further enemy action that they did not wish to go through with their pregnancies.

Some of the reasons advanced for a greater desire for babies among the married couples are:

- (1) better economic conditions;
- (2) as a patriotic duty;
- (3) as a reason for the husband's deferment from the draft;
- (4) a desire to leave an offspring due to the greater uncertainty of life and death in war time; and
- (5) more family life.

More of the doctors who attend maternal cases seemed to agree that the number of babies of mixed racial ancestries is definitely on the increase. According to one of them, we are having many more "hapa-Haole" (half-white) legitimate as well as illegitimate babies.

In times of war and stress accompanied by social disorganization, the normal expectation is a slackening of the conventional moral standards or a tendency to deviate from the mores of a group.

As one doctor expressed it, "The minute the feeling that the danger of attack is near the corner, then you will notice a difference in morals. Then morals will slip. Now that the people have regained a sense of security, their behavior has improved accordingly."

However, most of them have not noticed any appreciable change or they dismissed the subject with "I don't know." Of those who ventured to comment on this ticklish question of other people's moral conduct, twelve felt that "there is no doubt that the moral standard is on a downward trend."

Drink

"When a man can't go to a party or to the show, he may sit at home with a friend and take to drinking, sometimes excessively." The rationing of liquor has won the unanimous approval of the doctors, although some do not favor its prohibition because "the total lack of it adds to the monotony of life and provides more dissatisfaction." To one or two, "liquor has no place in a combat area." Gambling is another common substitute for wholesome forms of recreation.

Race Relations and Civilian Morale

With very few exceptions, the people of Hawaii have lived up to our principle of interracial tolerance. In spite of the preponderance of men and women of the alien race, there was a marked absence of panic or violence. One or two doctors have noticed a little resentment felt towards the Japanese patients, made apparent in some minor way. For instance, immediately

after the fall of Manila to the Japanese, a Filipino orderly in arranging the trays in a hospital gave "the smaller pieces of cake to the Japanese patients," and "a haole nurse complained that all she did was bathe the Japs all day." Haole nurses who resented nursing Japanese patients are usually army or navy wives who had husbands killed or injured by enemy action.

As far as patients are concerned, there has been practically no shifting of patronage for racial reasons. One outstanding exception to the rule of our accepted principle of interracial tolerance came from a member of the medical profession who felt that "unless something is done about the Japanese problem" many people in the territory will be mentally disturbed.

For the successful prosecution of any major struggle, the morale among the civilian population is as important as that among the military personnel. As far as the physicians can see, the general morale has been splendid. By and large, the people adjusted themselves to wartime conditions and reacted favorably. They have been most cooperative with the military authorities. They are just as interested in the maintenance of their health. However, two or three physicians made an exception to the general observation. One maintained: "I think there is a 'devil be cared' and 'to hell' attitude among a lot of people. We don't like to be regimented that way and we want to know why . . . People allow their physical well-being to go to the dogs."

The freezing of men to their jobs definitely lowers their morale and as one doctor stated it, "It means a lot just to have the privilege to be able to do as one wishes." Far more detrimental to civilian morale than the military regulations curtailing personal freedom of action was the apparent "double standard," one for the military authorities and another for the civilians. The former group was apparently enjoying certain privileges denied to the latter. Yet, as a whole, the community's morale has remained on a high level. Since physical and mental stability is very much a matter of individual personal make-up, it was to be expected that many of the local residents would be jittery. The problem, however, solved itself by the military governor's encouragement to non-essential civilians to evacuate voluntarily to the Mainland; hence, those who could not "take it" gracefully and quietly made their exit and those who remained showed greater stability and courage than the malihinis.

With the importation of thousands upon thousands of war workers to speed up the defense program, it was inevitable that many of them had direct contact with the local doctors. The doctors complained of the superficial medical examination given these men at the time of recruitment. This inferior group of physical specimens had to live in an unfavorable and abnormal environment in cantonment areas where they are crowded together with great variation in educational and social background. Moreover "the grind is terrible" with "nothing but work, eat, and sleep for many of them." Moreover, many workers, having come under actual pressure and false representation in regard

to wages, living and working conditions, were greatly disappointed and disillusioned. Therefore, under the circumstances, what would be a more natural outcome than maladjustment and unhappiness and a desire to return to their own homes?

The low opinion of the average defense worker is not shared by all the doctors interviewed, as is evidenced by the following quotation: "The Mainland defense workers are a fine bunch of American boys, like those in any defense boom town. There is only a small percentage of rough element. Most of them don't care to drink and only a few drunkards do all the squawking . . . There are psychiatric factors which are apparent in any group of young men under similar conditions of homesickness, worries, stress, and strain."

This paper is by no means conclusive, but nevertheless, it brings out some of the outstanding observations made by the medical profession in general, which may be summarized as follows:

1. With a few exceptions, the morale of the people of Hawaii during the past 18 months has been excellent.
2. The profession as a whole has enjoyed an unusually prosperous period, although many have complained of being overloaded with work and of working under difficulties, such as the lack of hospital facilities, shortage of nurses, traveling at night under blackout conditions, shortage of certain drugs, etc.
3. The mass immunization campaign against typhoid and smallpox has definitely reduced the incidence of typhoid.
4. Many overworked employees have suffered, to a certain extent, with a drop in efficiency and poor health.
5. Aside from causing some mental turmoil, blackout conditions did not affect health adversely in the earlier months of the war, but did later account for a general increase in upper respiratory infections, mumps, pneumonia, etc.
6. Defense workers from the Mainland have been affected more than the local people, due probably to maladjustment, poor housing conditions, improper food, long hours of work, etc.
7. Blackout restrictions and the enforcement of curfew laws have reduced traffic accidents by 200 to 300 per cent.
8. Generally speaking, there is no food problem for the average resident who is not on any special diet, although there was a shortage of certain green vegetables and fruits for a short period of time. Defense workers seemed to have difficulty in getting adequate and proper food.
9. The few cases of acute catarrhal jaundice and poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) might be due to mass movement of workers from the Mainland, although infantile paralysis has always been present in Hawaii.
10. There is a definite increase in the incidence of tuberculosis and mental disorders.

11. In spite of the tolerance of prostitution on Oahu, there is no noticeable increase in venereal diseases. Ninety per cent of venereal infections among defense workers are attributable to professional prostitutes.
12. There is a definite increase in the number of births in the Territory with a relative increase in illegitimate births.
13. The continued existence of interracial tolerance has helped to prevent panic or any violent mob demonstrations against enemy aliens, thus minimizing fears, worries, and nervousness among all races.

SERVICEMEN IN HAWAII—SOME IMPRESSIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HAWAII

V. CABELL FLANAGAN

The following article offers some insight on the recurring problem in Hawaii of the relations between servicemen and civilians. The author, himself a serviceman, has drawn upon the free and casual observations of his own associates on various aspects of Island life. This account is not assumed to be exhaustive.—
Editors

For the past three years, Honolulu, the capital city of the Territory of Hawaii, has been host to an untold number of servicemen from every state of the mainland. This role of being host to visitors is not a new one for the people of Hawaii—before the war the tourist trade was referred to as the fourth largest industry in the Islands, but the arrival of this great new mass of temporary visitors in wartime has produced a new situation.

This group in khaki and white is not like the relatively small group of well-to-do and upper-middle-class vacationers, fairly equally divided as to sex, who came to Hawaii on the Matson luxury liners to vacation in the tropics for a few days or weeks. This service personnel is a tremendously large group, of one sex, representing all social classes, and spending in many cases as much as three years in the local area. This latter group is not made up of twenty-four hour-a-day vacationers, but rather of men who seek, after their work day is through or on their liberty days, relaxation, fun, and the sight of people and places that represent a change from their highly regimented lives while at sea or at their duty stations.

One important parallel between these wartime visitors to the Island and the pre-war tourists is that both are temporary groups here. This much larger group, like the tourists, will someday return to their homes and tell the story of their Hawaiian experience. Will the future of the Territory, her economic and political life, her tourist trade, be boosted or hindered by the reports which will be circulated in every city and town on the Mainland by returning servicemen? Are the thousands of servicemen passing through Hawaii for a few days or those living here as temporary residents, gathering the kind of impressions that will result in pleasant memories and a lasting interest in Hawaii? Or are they developing an embittered feeling toward the people here and the Territory in general to the extent of prompting them to do what they can "to debunk," as one man put it, "the myth of Waikiki Beach, hula girls and palm trees, and blue Hawaiian moonlight."

The Honolulu Advertiser, in an editorial of October 5, 1944, entitled, *Sort Out The Beefs*, recognized that the attitudes of servicemen returning to their homes may affect Hawaii's future.

Beefing about the other fellow's town is an American habit and prerogative which none wishes to deny. Howls about the weather, hospitality, and the way in which the home folks part

their hair are expected and can be shrugged off with complacency. Not so, some of the things that are happening here during war.

These are the things about which the least is heard. Minor discourtesies and extortions which are not worth complaining about in public, but which stick in the craw. For the sake of Hawaii's future, the community would be wise to sort out these beefs and do something about them. A serviceman who looks at his \$50-a-month and a 30-cent hamburger side-by-side may not say anything, but he is going to remember Hawaii for a long, long time.

Whether the attitudes toward Hawaii of some of these returning servicemen are fair or not, granting the impossibility of creating a favorable impression under wartime conditions, is, unfortunately, of less importance than the fact that, undoubtedly, they will have stories to tell to impressionable audiences. Thus it follows that just what their attitudes are now and what they will be when their sojourn in Hawaii is ended are of significance to people interested in Hawaii.

In an attempt to sample these attitudes of servicemen toward Hawaii, comments of some fifty or more men representing every branch of the service have been gathered over a period of nine months. Some of these men were interviewed in a somewhat formal manner—questions from a prepared list being asked and the verbatim answers recorded. However, all men interviewed were not asked all of the questions on the list; rather, questions were selected which seemed to follow up most logically the previous comment of the man being interviewed. Other men were drawn into a conversation on a bus, in a restaurant, in a mess-hall, or on the street; and their comments faithfully recorded at the first available opportunity. In the cases of the men interviewed, most of them were friends or acquaintances of the writer; and because of the natural unrestrained atmosphere under which these interviews were conducted, it is considered that the rapport which existed between the informant and the recorder was particularly conducive to obtaining true and sincerely expressed opinions and attitudes. Also, it is of significance that many of the questions used in interviewing men cover topics that are popular conversation topics among servicemen. One man who answered the questions in a particularly brisk fashion, when questioned about the sincerity of his answers, stated, "I have thought enough about this all along without having to spend a lot of time thinking about it now."

Analysis of Causes or Justifications of Attitudes

In attempting to analyze in these war years causes or justifications for a serviceman's attitude, there must be taken into consideration at least three major changes which have taken place practically simultaneously in his situation:

(1) He has changed from the freedom of civilian life to the restrictions and regimen of military life. As one man expressed it:

1. This fact is undoubtedly responsible for a heavy weighting of college-trained informants in the sample—Editors.

All of the things that go with the military—the saluting, the wearing of a hat a certain way, the wearing of a certain type of clothing, having to have a pass to come and go, to have some overbearing individual give you hell and you have to stand there and take it. I am not condemning it or upholding it. That is just the way they claim it is necessary to make a fighting unit, and it has its points.

(2) He is living in a wartime world compared to his former life in a peace time world, and the "interruption" to his career just when he feels he is "getting a good start in the world" may develop a certain sense of frustration.

(3) He has left familiar scenes, faces, ways of doing things that were endowed with a sense of rightness for the very reason that they were what he had always known; and he has come to a far away place whose scenes, people, and ways of doing things are strange to him.

Some men in making comments showed that they have analyzed the situation and have pretty well figured out the causes of their attitudes. These men tried to be fair in making comments about the Territory.

I came into this very suddenly. I was drafted under Selective Service in August, 1940, at a time when I expected to be in military service for one year. I wasn't very far sighted, wasn't prepared for what I was getting into, and being conservative I reacted unfavorably to many things.

I definitely have the feeling that it is so entirely different from everything that we have all been used to. I don't know whether that is caused from just being in Honolulu. You might have the same feeling being anywhere away from your own stamping ground.

Well, if I was going to be fair and honest about it, I'd have to say that I can see where there are the facilities here for having a good time, but now they are interfered with by the war. I don't like having duty here or being here in wartime, but to be honest about it that's because of wartime conditions. I miss not having women—nice girls to date, I mean. Of course you can get the other kind. And then, too, I'm just plain homesick. But I can see that this could be a great place for having fun in peace time. To tell you the truth, I haven't had it so bad here.

Most of all I miss my freedom and that isn't caused by being here. It is caused by being in the service. I miss that more than anything—my freedom.

There are many servicemen who are unhappy here and who apparently have neither the inclination nor the ability to figure out the true cause of their unhappiness. Because the Territory provides the geographical setting for their unhappiness, they blame Hawaii and the people here for their predicament, developing sometimes a violent dislike for both the Islands and the entire civilian population. Some of these men quite obviously have not explored their attitudes and do not know what they

think. The following is typical of these highly contradictory, unexplored attitudes:

Question—Do you think you will ever come back here after the war is over?

Well, I hope I'm not that foolish. Some of my friends say you can't live here as long as I have (18 months) and not want to stay here, but the only thing I can say they've got here is the climate. That's the only thing there is. I don't like the economic set-up or the government set-up or anything about it except the climate.

Back where I come from, we're not used to associate with anybody but white people. If you could clear everybody off of the Island and move all whites over here, it would be a lot better.

Question—When you say the "economic set-up," what do you mean—the so-called dominance of the "Big Five"?

Well, that's part of it. I don't think the little fellow has got a chance here. The little fellows get along if they've got their hand in there getting their cut. Some of the fellows tell me we've got the "Big Five" back in the States, too—but I say back there they're not nearly as strong as they are here. They can't be with the anti-trust laws.

Question—You say you're not that foolish. Do you mean that you think that you might be?

Well, to tell you the truth, if I had my wife out here, I'd probably stay here. But as long as I'm married and I know I can get a job when I go back and not have to start all over again from scratch, well, I'd be foolish not to go back.

Social Participation Affecting Attitude

Man, like every other animal, must come to terms with his environment. He must become acclimated. In addition to the process of naturalization in the biotic community, man has to find a place in the human environment and in the economic and social order which his associations with other human beings impose upon him.²

In the case of the serviceman who makes his temporary home here, finding a place in the economic order is no problem. The lack, however, of such economic participation increases the problem of finding a place in the social order.

The ability or willingness to enter into or participate in the various aspects of social life in the Territory has a considerable bearing on the resultant attitude and what the man gets out of his Hawaiian experience. The man who is only interested in duplicating those experiences and seeking those pleasures which he knew and liked in his home environment rather than in exerting himself to look for something new, some experience obtainable perhaps only in the Territory, is probably going to be greatly disappointed in Hawaii. Honolulu is just not large enough—not cosmopolitan enough to provide facilities for satisfy-

2. A. B. Hollingshead, "Human Ecology," in R. E. Park (ed.), *Principles of Sociology*, (New York, 1939).

ing a great number of varying tastes and to cater to special likes and dislikes.

A man from Texas, a college graduate, has this to say:

This is the hell-hole of the world. I volunteered to come out—why, I don't know. If I ever come back, it won't be of my own accord; it will be in a box. It's too confining—no New York—no night clubs. In Texas you might go 100 miles in an evening.

This man's further comments reveal that he has never explored the community except for a few downtown stores and some bars. He sees beauty only in the wide open spaces, in rolling hills and far horizons. To him there is beauty in Texas, even in its cactus; but he sees no natural beauty in the Islands. He is "opposed to the whole layout."

In an attempt to explore somewhat more closely the impressions held by servicemen of Hawaii, a series of specific questions were asked. The answers to question 1, "What in particular about the Territory has impressed you most," were varied in detail, although certain features of Hawaii were mentioned by almost all. They usually included remarks about the climate, the scenery or the racial patterns found in the Territory. In almost all cases, the climate was mentioned first. Many disapproved and still others like the "eternal summer." Remarks such as these were included in the answers:

First, climate—second, you are in the mountains and five minutes later you are on the beach. Also nature and the inter-racial mixture.

Naturally, the climate. I am quite sincere when I say that there are many beautiful sights I have seen. I think there are some interesting phenomena—those unique natural structures that stand out—like Diamond Head and the Blowhole. And the construction interests me—the way they build their houses. We don't build ours that way back home. Then there's the way they dress—the college co-eds going barefoot; I'll never get over that if I live to be a million. I have never seen a town where the dress of the people on the street was so strange—so varied—so care-free. The climate is partly responsible for it, I suppose. Aloha shirts, Filipinos in their zoot suits and the goose grease on their long hair.

I don't like the climate; it would make me lazy and indolent.

I was disappointed in Waikiki Beach. Have you ever been to Virginia Beach? Well, you know how that is—a good long stretch of beach and when I came over here and saw that Waikiki Beach just a block long, well, I was really disappointed. And I expected to find grass huts here.

Contrasting comments were received from men who had just recently come to the Islands from opposite directions. A man who had just been in the South Pacific said:

I was in the Ellice Islands before. I hate it here. Oh, it's terrible. There is just enough freedom and everything for you to think you might have something, but the restrictions and the crowds are too much. I would much rather be down on Ellice.

Down there you know what you've got. Then the prices are so high here. It costs you a mint to do anything or go anywhere. If I didn't have photography as a hobby, I guess I would go nuts.

Three young sailors who had been up in the Aleutians said:

This is paradise; this is our second liberty here and you can't beat it. I would like to have permanent duty here.

After where we've been and not to see a tree or anything green, this is wonderful. I would love to stay here.

Get us shore duty here and we would sure appreciate it.

These three men, at the suggestion of some of their shipmates, had just been to Waikiki Beach and thought the U.S.O. was doing "a swell job" there. They had not been to Hotel Street.³

The fact that they liked it here and referred to it with such beaming smiles as a paradise seems to indicate that their shipmates who had been here before had nothing but good reports to give them. They did not have a single derogatory word to say about Hawaii; it was apparently inconceivable to them that anything could be said against the place.

Question 2, "What does Honolulu as a community lack that your home community has?" was answered like question 1. Climate, lack of amusement and, of course, girls, were among the most criticized features of Hawaii. The lack of a definite change in the weather or in the seasons seemed to cause some distress. Perhaps the already strict regimentation in their lives served to emphasize this feature. If, for example, there were different seasons, it would mean changes in uniform, in food, in living habits—all of which would certainly reduce the monotony or regimentation of service life.

There is something about seasons back there that just get me. That's one of the things I miss. I am not a lover of winter, but I miss spring and autumn.

I miss the seasons. There is no place in the world that has a worse climate at times than Washington, but I would prefer it every time to this climate.

It seems so dirty here. It is probably because of the war; but when I came out here, I expected to find a place like Miami. Maybe it is because of the war, but that sort of left a mark on me.

One of the interviewed servicemen had this remark to make:

There is no place for a middle class. You either go slumming and go to Yee Hops down in the River Street area or you dress up and go to the Moana.

It is perhaps unusual for such a statement to be made by a serviceman. However, to a certain extent this is true, es-

3. The honky-tonk district of Honolulu boasts of many pin-ball machines, souvenir stands, photograph stands, "Have your picture taken with a hula girl" stands, and hot dog and hamburger stands. These stands are crowded and jammed into as little space as possible. The prices charged at the various amusement stands are exorbitant, but none the less within the reach of the serviceman just back from "down under." They are loosely called the "gyp joints of Honolulu."

pecially in the plantation and rural areas where the owners and managers represent the upper classes and the workers, the lower classes; there is a definite absence of a middle class. In the urban districts, however, as a result of the gradual permeation of the former Oriental laborers into small or well-to-do businesses, there has been a tendency toward somewhat of a middle social group.

Question 3, "Do you feel any sense of isolation in living in the Territory?" revealed a large number who felt "cut off from the rest of the world," but most of them sensed that this feeling was due largely to their being in the service. Some felt that if they were tourists or civilian war workers, they would be less isolated; while still others felt that, regardless of their reason for being here, they would still feel isolated.

The fact that I am in the Navy and take no part in the city life makes me feel isolated. Here I am restricted to my quarters and maybe an occasional trip to the beach. Culturally, I think this place is adequate, though. They have a fairly active museum and there are symphonies. Back home you had the friends to encourage you to get in on all those things. You are very liable here to take an actual dislike to the place. You lose sight of what it could be. You could be fairly happy here and find most of the things you had back home.

Yes, definitely so. It's the big objection I have to living here. That would be the only reason that I wouldn't remain here. I feel confined—cut off.

I have two answers. My very reason for being here, my being in the Navy, I mean, makes me feel isolated. After you are gone from home for a while and make new friends, you don't feel it as much, but I do feel isolated. The fact that this place is surrounded by water doesn't affect me at all. It doesn't seem like it is 2,000 miles away from streamlined trains and all. I would have different answers for all of these if I was a tourist or a civilian working over here. All of these answers are colored by the very fact that I am in the Navy.

You seem hemmed in here. In the States you can take a trip to the West, for instance. Here after you have made a trip around the Islands, there is no place else to go.

Answers to this question were frequently colored by the general weariness and tensions of wartime Hawaii. They felt that service in stores, public transportation systems, mailing procedures, and censorship were the causes for their feeling of isolation and confinement.

I most certainly do feel isolated. After all, it works on this basis; if you want to force your way in you can get what you want out here, but they offer us nothing that we don't go out and demand from them.

I don't like the idea of our mail taking a week to get to us and all. People that live here have such a hard time getting back and forth to the Mainland.

I don't think it actually lacks anything; it is just inadequate

for the war conditions—not enough facilities to accommodate the people because of the war crowds. In ordinary times I don't think it would lack anything as a city except one thing. I like things on time—radio programs, movies, and things of that nature. Of course, underneath all of it there is the feeling that it is an island—you do feel cut off from the rest of the world.

Question 4 concerned the racial patterns of Hawaii and the impressions they have made on servicemen. It was quite clear the majority interviewed did not find the social pattern here to be either markedly pleasing or objectionable, although there were many indications of it seeming interesting. The men apparently were accepting their lot as bearable on a purely temporary basis, although they would have objected to the same experiences on the mainland or if they had seemed likely to continue.

I would say I was indifferent to it. I have no feeling about it whatsoever. I have no trouble living with them and yet I don't think they are anything super. I imagine it would be different if I had selected this community as a home; I certainly would treat it differently.

The fact that I don't intend to stay here makes me indifferent to it. I wouldn't want the same thing in my own home town. The fact that I don't intend to be here so long and I am not in too close contact with them—I am indifferent. I wouldn't go so far as to say that it is objectionable; it is not pleasing, and for the present, it is a bit interesting just for the experience of living amongst all types.

It certainly isn't pleasing; I wouldn't say that it is objectionable and I am certainly not indifferent to it. Also if I was home, there would be certain racial elements that wouldn't please me. Alien elements—the Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans—they are here in the Territory because of the desire of so-called business to get cheap labor or because they were invited in by the politicians of the United States; and poor Hawaii just has to sit here and take it. I can't say that these Filipinos or Japanese are extremely repulsive and I can't say that I am actually indifferent to them. I am indifferent to the extent that I can go about my little routine and they can go about theirs and we don't come to any fistcuffs.

You will have to say that it is interesting, but I think it would certainly become objectionable to you if you had to put up with it for any length of time. I do think the inter-marriages are interesting. One girl might be about six blooming races.⁴

In response to question 5 as to whether the Territory has grown or diminished in their affections in the time they have spent here, many men expressed themselves in a particularly spontaneous and sincere fashion. The affirmative answers were short, such as "Definitely yes," "Yes," "Grown," "I think a lot more of the place now after being here eighteen months."

A typical example of a negative answer was that of an

4. These comments are much more objective than one would find in a general cross section of service personnel—Editors.

Army sergeant who had been here eighteen months:

No, it hasn't grown in my affections. I haven't been acclimatized to it. I am constantly under the influence of homesickness. I can't say I have grown fonder of it as the months went by. Were I here of my own accord, my opinions might be modified.

I don't feel a closeness because I don't feel a part of it. I am one of a mass which is a necessary evil; but the longer I have been here, the more I should say I like it. Maybe it is just that I have become resigned to it, but I don't think as a member of the armed forces you can become a part of any community.

That's hard to answer due to things before I got here. I had certain ideas about the place and it didn't live up to my expectations. I like it more and more all the time.

A follow up question, "What did you expect to find here?" brought this answer:

I expected it to be more or less a village and hula girls running around and no automobiles. It is practically like Washington in some aspects—all modern—I expected it to be primitive.

This man obviously did not answer the question asked, but instead compared what he expected to find in Honolulu with what he did find. This sort of comparison, however, was quite typical of other servicemen. Many of the men had never heard of the Island of Oahu until they landed on it—had no idea that Honolulu was on the Island of Oahu.

Servicemen-Civilian Attitudes

Often answers to the five questions listed above led to further discussion, and other important attitudes were revealed. Among other topics, the civilian-servicemen relationship in Hawaii was frequently discussed at length.

The civilian population tends inevitably to consider servicemen on a categorical out-group basis, and as a result the servicemen are quite likely to lose the steady influence of a set of "normal expectations" to conduct themselves after the civilian pattern. This attitude is illustrated in the comment of a well educated and cultured kamaaina Haole who, in a discussion of the servicemen's patronage of houses of prostitution in Honolulu, remarked that a serviceman seen entering such an establishment was shielded by his uniform from the criticism usually accorded civilians frequenting such places. He insisted further that even if the man in the uniform was recognized by a civilian friend on entering or leaving such a place, it would not be held against him because the man in uniform was expected to frequent such places.

The serviceman craves privacy and individuality above all else, but few have the means of attaining it. During the greater part of each twenty-four hours, he is only a number—there are thousands of others just like him; his personal life, his likes and dislikes, are only important in so far as they blend and conform with those of the group. In addition to the clothes he wears and the food he eats, the normal treatment he receives from the civilian population is also strictly "G.I." It must be this way; the great number involved makes anything else an im-

possibility.

The question, "Do you think that being here as a member of the Armed Forces causes you to feel differently toward the Territory than if you were here as a civilian?" brought forth the following typical answers:

There is a barrier built up against the servicemen by the Haoles and a lack of enjoyment in associating with the Orientals.

I know of no one who has really enjoyed being here other than those people who have forced themselves in. I think there is enjoyment to be had with the Haoles, but the people keep the doors closed. There is no invitation to come in and I am not going to knock on anybody's door and ask to come in. It is their home, not mine.

You are not taken in as a social member of the community, but a civilian might receive social invitations here. A civilian can get in on social events even though there are officers present, but you can be a very good friend of theirs and the fact that you are an enlisted man, they just can't ask you.

I think if we were out here under different circumstances, the attitudes of those people would be different toward us. I am branded, whatever I do; there is a certain barrier that has to be broken down wherever you go. I think it is to some extent broken down at the University.

The people who are anything on the Islands want nothing to do with servicemen. I think the uniform makes the difference. They feel that we are imposing by being here; and as far as I am concerned, I would be glad to give it back to the Japs.

Many of the servicemen were sufficiently objective to recognize the sources of the prejudice against them. Two sailors attached to a submarine who were staying at the Royal Hawaiian for a two-week rest had these comments to make:

I like it here. Of course I think the fact that I am wearing a uniform works against me, in fact, in view of the long time the servicemen have been around here, I wonder why the people associate with sailors at all. On a crowded bus sometimes when there are rowdies cutting up, the people shun us; but if you get away from the heart of town where most of the sailors are—get out into the outlying districts—you get much better attention—better service in restaurants and the people are just more free in general.

I like it here fine. It is the large number of servicemen here that makes the difference. It was the same way in Champlain, Illinois, where I was stationed first. When I first got there and there were only about fifteen sailors in town, we had it plenty swell; they didn't even have a shore patrol for months. But then after the large number came in, they tried to see just how much they could get away with and then that meant I had to suffer.

A "CB" said:

Here you spend a lot of money and have no good times to show for it. I imagine that after the war—after all the servicemen get away—that the place wouldn't be too bad.

A few men in this sample felt this criticism of the civilian population was unfair and unwarranted.

Summary

Thus a brief study of attitudes toward various phases of life in Hawaii shows that many factors have entered to influence the thinking and feeling of the servicemen interviewed. The abnormal wartime conditions—the sudden change from a free, civilian life to a rigid, military life, the strange environment into which these men have been placed, new people, new scenes, new standards—have all entered into the process of attitude formation. Some of the men have shown deep insight and attempts to understand the factors involved in this process, while others have not bothered to analyze the causes of much of their feelings.

Experiences in the Islands and the amount of social participation of the servicemen in the community life have had much to do in creating favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the people and life in Hawaii. Those that have had the opportunity to mingle with the island residents, and those who have approached the local people without prejudice and with sincere interest and desire to know them have given many favorable comments about the Islands. Others who have not had the opportunity or who have not given themselves a chance to get into the various aspects of island life have formed unfavorable attitudes toward everything on "the rock."

Most of the servicemen have been greatly impressed by the warm climate, although, at the same time, they have missed the seasons of the mainland. Many have found the Territory lacking in many things—recreational facilities, natural beauty, and, especially, companionship of women.

Many have revealed unfavorable attitudes over the question of the racial situation in Hawaii. Although they have outwardly said that they have no strong objections to the multi-racial groups in Hawaii, they seem to feel inwardly that they would not tolerate such a situation if they were permanent residents here, or if such a situation were to exist back home on the Mainland. Such attitudes may mean that previous prejudices have been brought here from the Mainland, and the outward denial of objections to the Island situation may mean temporary accommodation to the racial situation in the Islands. They may also mean that the men are just homesick and are tired of the people and "the rock."

It is interesting to note that the civilians' attitudes toward the servicemen have played some part in the reaction of the servicemen. The categorizing of servicemen into one group by the local people has made the servicemen more keenly aware of their loss of individuality. They feel the lack of regard for them as individuals, and they express strongly the desire to be regarded as individuals and not "G.I.'s." Many of them feel that their attitude toward the Islands would be different if they were here during normal times as civilians and not as uniformed men. Their immediate desire is to return to the mainland to their folks and friends and to be ordinary civilians once more.

A TYPICAL DAY IN THE WAR RESEARCH LABORATORY

ANDREW W. LIND

It is difficult for a person unfamiliar with the concrete materials of the laboratory to form any accurate judgment as to their character and value from a formal report. In order to provide something of the flavor of the actual work of the laboratory, it was decided to include a supplementary report incorporating entries noted in the journal of a staff member on a typical day together with pertinent extracts from the interviews, diaries, and preliminary research summaries which pass over his desk. Some liberty has been taken in the actual selection of the items included, in order to give them a truly representative quality, but all of the items are accurately quoted, except for identifying names and places.

Monday, June—, 1945. An absence of several days on field work found an accumulation of several reports from the outside islands. Most of them mention a "return to normalcy in race relations" broken only occasionally by some incident of strained relations, particularly toward the Japanese as a consequence of recent atrocity stories. The generally favorable situation revealed in these reports is much less noticeable in Honolulu where "foreign" elements are still so strong. Several of the reporters speak of incidents between service men and civilians, but these incidents were much less frequent and less serious than in early 1944 when the first combat troops returned to Hawaii for rest. The following extracts reveal something of the general temper of the reports.

When we saw the convoy of trucks carrying marines waving captured Japanese flags, we knew that the marines who fought on Iwo Jima had come back to Hawaii. The people here (Japanese) were a bit jittery. They didn't know just how these marines would regard the local Japanese residents. When the first group of marines fresh from Tarawa came here, they made such a bad name for themselves, because of the actions of a few, that the residents are still fearful of the marines. However, thus far, I haven't heard of any instances where the marines have done harm to the civilians.

The friendly spirit seems more evident now; more than it was three years ago. Immediately after the break of war, there seems to have been a feeling among the populace, that the Japanese were not to be trusted. This "feeling" gradually wore off, due to the broadmindedness of the people here in Hawaii and the friendly atmosphere that prevailed prior to the break of war among the different nationalities.

1. The following statement was prepared as a supplement to a progress report on the War Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii and is published in Social Process, with the author's permission, because of the interesting data which it contains in the field of wartime race relations.

There were cases where a certain racial group were being segregated in their course of activities, but this, too, has gradually turned to the better.

There is a marked improvement in the feeling towards people of Japanese extraction by other racial groups. Although there have been isolated cases of people showing extreme dislike for people of Japanese blood, the general feeling has steadily improved in the last three months.

This is due to the favorable publicity that our 100th Infantry, 442nd Combat Team, and the various units of the Interpreter's groups are getting for their brilliant record.

I will point out the "Hood River American Legion incident" as an example, on which our local and mainland newspapers have condemned their action editorially and high officials, such as the Secretary of War Stimson, denouncing their action and urging the restoration of the sixteen names stricken from their roll, which have helped mold favorable public opinion, and as a result, we have had countless people of other racial groups denounce such discrimination and injustice.

Two chaplains stopped in to inquire as to the reactions of local residents to Negroes. They explained that some of their Negro troops were disappointed in the type of "brush-off" treatment they were receiving from the Island population, and particularly from girls of Oriental ancestry. A statement of one Negro soldier to a girl of Japanese ancestry was quoted as being somewhat typical of this point of view:

..... I soon found out (to my amazement) that I was an "untouchable," "had a tail," "would kill, at the drop of a hat," and "that my friendship was not desired." Naturally, having a very definite "I'm-just-as-good-as-they-are attitude," I quickly retreated and have not even tried to advance since, (thanks to my self-respect). Do you realize that according to the population of the different nationalities in the U.S., the Colored far outrank the others in the sports world? Can you boast of such achievements in a period of only 79 years? I am merely drawing a parallel between one group of Colored people having the audacity to discriminate another group, when some of the former live in dirty, wooden, broken-down shacks, walk the streets minus shoes, and have very little, if anything, to say in their Terriotrial Government.

The chaplains stated that they did not regard this point of view as representative of all of their troops, but it was sufficiently common to merit some attention.

A simple answer to their inquiry was difficult to formulate, but on the basis of such information as we had, I attempted to make a statement approximately as follows: Prior to the war the Negro hardly existed in the direct experience of most local residents. Most of the American and Island-born residents con-

ceived of the Negro in terms of the minstrel show caricatures and of the American movie stereotypes. The very few Negroes living in Hawaii were commonly thought of as Part-Hawaiians or just as "Others." The term Negro was rarely, almost never applied to local residents.

Since 1940 there has been a large movement of Negro troops and defense workers to Hawaii, and almost every district of the Islands has had direct experience with some Negroes since the outbreak of the war. The reactions of the local residents have varied so greatly by localities and by periods that only the most simple statement would accurately describe all the situations.

In general, the Negro has experienced the same type of differential treatment accorded each of the newly-arrived immigrant groups. He was automatically accorded the bottom position on the social scale; and being strange and different, he was also kept at a safe distance by the other ethnic groups. This tendency was accentuated by the practice of the newspapers to add the designation "Negro" to any account of a crime committed by a member of this group. This pattern has been followed with other immigrant groups in the past. Thus the resident population have learned to think of the Negro in terms of stereotypes as "dangerous, over-sexed, irresponsible."

Such mass characterizations of the Negro have been further encouraged by white servicemen, who resented the attention which local girls gave to the Negro in the early stages of the war. Many young women of Oriental and of Hawaiian ancestry developed aversions toward the Negroes solely through their associations with white servicemen. It is noteworthy that the local young men have been more friendly toward the Negroes than their sisters and girl-friends.

The fear expressed early in the war by certain mainland observers that the local Japanese might exercise a subversive influence upon the newly-arrived Negroes was certainly ill-founded. Some of the more sophisticated Nisei did manifest a considerable interest in the Negro and were somewhat disposed to identify themselves with the Negroes, as another minority group. But the local Japanese have never manifested the militant attitudes toward their assumed aggressors found among some of the mainland Negroes. Most of the local Japanese have been frankly suspicious, if not fearful of the Negroes.

It seemed worthwhile here to quote a few statements from a casual conversation which had just been turned in by one of our reporters:

The other night our church girls acted as hostesses at a dance to a group of Negro soldiers. We tried to be pleasant and sociable, but you know how it is. We all have a certain feeling toward Negroes. You can't say you are completely free from prejudice, can you, when it comes to close associations with the Negroes? I can tolerate them; but when it comes to dates with them, it's another question.

Well, these Negro soldiers aren't used to getting much attention from girls of other races, so if you're nice to them, they become intimate. They start asking for your phone number and even dates. When it gets to that point, it gets disgusting and spoils the evening. You have to start thinking of all kinds of excuses to turn them away. Most of them are sensitive when refused. Right away they feel that you refuse them because they are Negroes and for nothing else. In most cases that is actually the reason, but what can you do if you can't like them. Our girls weren't very enthusiastic and many sat back and didn't dance at all.

Next day in church, Reverend———, in his sermon said something about our girls advocating racial equality, interracial good will, etc., but when it came to putting that into practice, they didn't try. He rubbed it in in a subtle manner that the girls wouldn't dance with the Negro service men, and that got me mad. You know, it's easy for him to talk that way; it's easy for him to be friendly with the Negro men because he's a man. But it isn't for the girls. I wonder if he realizes that.

To this comment most of the girls agreed that they, too, found that to be a problem at Negro U.S.O. dances where the Negroes got too intimate when treated well by the Oriental girls.

XYZ, newspaper reporter for the Honolulu———, called to inquire whether we were ready to give him the promised statement regarding the effect of the war upon interracial marriage. Fortunately a brief analysis of recent statistical trends had been completed a few days earlier and it was possible to supply him with material for an article. The statements of especial interest to him were as follows:

In the two years just prior to Pearl Harbor 30.9% of all marriages in the Territory were of the sort commonly called interracial marriages; whereas, in the two war years ending June 30, 1944, 38.8% were mixed racial marriages. The principal factor behind this rapid spurt in the ratio of out-marriages is undoubtedly the sudden rise of our military and defense personnel, most of whom are single men, a long way from home. If any considerable number of them are to marry at all, it must be with women of another racial ancestry; and the statistics of "out-marriages" clearly indicate that a sizeable number of island visitors have succumbed to the charms of local non-Caucasian girls. Factors of supply and demand determine to a considerable degree where cupid's shots are placed in Hawaii.

The most notable increase in out-marriages has occurred among the Caucasian males. Of the 2,854 haole men who were married in Hawaii during the prewar biennium, 931 or 32.8% found wives of another ancestry. After Pearl Harbor, there were 3,589 haole men who found wives in Hawaii and of these 1,949 or 54.3% married out. The part-Hawaiians offered the greatest attractions as brides, 622 marrying haole men in the two year period. Girls

of Japanese ancestry were selected as marriage partners by 360 haole men during this same period of time. An additional 286 haole men secured brides of Chinese, Korean, or Filipino ancestry.

..... The women of Japanese ancestry, who prior to the war found husbands almost exclusively within their own racial group, have increasingly since the war secured mates in all the other racial groups. Where prior to the war one out of every ten Japanese brides married a non-Japanese man, since the war the ratio has increased to almost one out of every five. Haoles, Chinese, Asiatic-Hawaiians, and Filipinos account for most of the increase of non-Japanese husbands of Japanese women.

A call from the telephone operator stated that a Mr. M. was on his way over to our office. Mr. M. proved to be a federal investigator, inquiring about a student who graduated in 1934. This is the fifth request for information of this type during the present month. Fortunately I remembered very well the person under investigation and could give an adequate report. Mr. M. was interested in our research program and remained to chat about his observations in the field of race relations during the course of his visits to the various islands.

..... When I first came to Hawaii about two years ago, I had the usual mainland conception especially with respect to the Orientals here. I thought of the Japanese in terms of buck-toothed individuals, who sucked air through their teeth and were as two-faced and crooked as the devil himself. The Chinese, on the other hand, I thought of as honest, straight-forward, dependable persons, whose word was their bond. After two years of this sort of work, where I come daily into contact with every type of person in the islands and get to see what sort of persons they really are, I've just about come to reverse my judgments. I'm doubtless as prejudiced now as I was two years ago, but my experience with the Japanese has been generally that they were honest and that I could depend upon what they said, whereas the young Chinese business men, in particular, have been just as undependable and dishonest.

These comments are significant for us only as indicating a certain trend in public opinion and, of course, they are not reliable criteria of the relative morality of the two groups. He revealed that his attitudes toward the Japanese had been very much influenced by their record in the 100th and the 442nd while he resented the fact that the Chinese had gone into highly remunerative businesses and into defense jobs. This point of view is fairly common *just at present* among a number of the middle class Haoles here.

Among the accumulation of reports on my desk was a collection of the more revealing comments included in the notebooks kept by students in our large introductory course (Sociology 151) last winter (February, 1945). An analysis might well constitute the basis for one issue of "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing."

A surprisingly large proportion of the women students were impressed by what appeared to them as the deliberate flaunting of the local etiquette of racial equality by mainland servicemen. Comments such as the following were typical:

I witnessed another incident while riding the bus, concerning the Negroes as well as the Japanese. First a few Japanese girls came on. Some haole boys who were riding the same bus stated: "Why can't the Japs walk? They do not have to ride the busses." Why do these boys have prejudice against the Japanese? Is it because we are at war with Japan? But aren't we just as loyal as the other American citizens? Besides we can't help it if Japan declared war on the United States.

A few stops later, two Negro soldiers came on. These same haole boys said sarcastically, "Move to the rear. Don't stand in the front." Now these soldiers didn't have to be reminded. They were moving to the rear and while they did not say anything to the boys. If they had said anything, there surely would have been trouble. Instead they just ignored them and sat down.

One day a group of Negroes came to the canteen to buy some coffee. There happened to be some white marines eating and one of them was slightly drunk. When he saw the Negroes coming in he said loudly, "Gee, it's getting hot in here. I'm burning. It's dark, too. I can't see," and then he laughed. The Negroes knew the remark was meant for them, but they paid no attention to the drunkard who was still making sarcastic remarks. The Negroes had learned to take these unkind remarks and walked out quietly after they had their coffee. I was so angry with the rude marine that I told him how little I thought of skunks like him. He only laughed and said, "Why, are they your boy friends?"

One day while riding the Waikiki bus, I saw an incident which has convinced me of the strong racial prejudice on the mainland. There were three sailors sitting comfortably on the front side seats of the crowded bus. Presently an aged Oriental woman came into the bus. Seeing that there was no room for her to sit, she just stood in front of the sailors. None of these sailors, though they saw her, lifted an eyelid, nor did they even try to budge from their seats for this old woman. She stood there until a girl in one of the other front seats gave up a seat to her.

About five stops later a young haole lady came into the bus and stood by the sailors. Like a flash of lightning, one of the sailors got up from his seat to let her have it.

Some of these comments are undoubtedly accurately reported. On the other hand, there is clearly some tendency to interpret mainland mass-transportation etiquette as racial discrimination.

An interesting study of mass observation might also be made of the range and variations in the WAC story which has been making the rounds recently in Honolulu. The first version, which came to our attention about a year ago, ran about as follows:

A mainland WAC who was compelled to stand in a crowded bus remarked quite audibly to her companion, "Where I come from, colored people stand up for white people"; whereupon a part-Hawaiian girl, seated next to the WAC, promptly rose and knocked her flat.

The versions quoted by the students vary considerably, with however always some Islander forcefully impressing upon the *malihini* the local principle of racial equality and the inappropriateness of racial snobbery.

a. This incident was related to me by an observer:

On a bus one day a Wac from Georgia was sitting by a window. A dark Hawaiian girl got on and took the empty seat beside her. The Wac said, "You can't sit here."

"Why not?" the Hawaiian girl asked.

The Wac slapped her face; the Hawaiian girl slapped her back. The Japanese bus driver made the Wac get off the bus. A soldier on the bus snickered.

b. I heard of this incident last night and I thought it might interest you. This incident took place on the Pearl Harbor bus. A group of Wac's got on the bus and sat down by a very dark Hawaiian girl. One of the Wac's said, "Where I come from, black people aren't allowed to ride on the same bus with white people." The Hawaiian girl knowing that the Wac was talking about her, got up and slapped the Wac's face. When this Wac complained to the bus driver, the driver refused to help her because he said that she started it.

c. It seems that a certain Wac came into a crowded bus and as everybody else had to take her chance at standing. Instead she went up to a Hawaiian girl who was sitting and demanded that "The natives should stand and give their seats to the white people." This seemed too much for the Hawaiian girl, who stood right up and slapped her on the cheek. As it goes, a serviceman nearby took hold of the Wac's arms and told the Hawaiian girl to strike her again. He said that he knew the Hawaiian people who treated him so very nicely and would side with them anytime.

CHANGE OF ATTITUDES AMONG PLANTATION WORKERS

KIMIE KAWAHARA LANE
CAROLINE OGATA

The people of Hawaii have been kept so busy with wartime activities that they have scarcely had time to ponder over the numerous changes that have taken place within their communities. Greater contact with people from the mainland, the boom of wartime economy, vast movements of population, army and navy wartime restrictions, and the general tension of war, have all contributed to the disruption of the normal routine of the quiet "Island Community."

One of the most interesting phenomena that has occurred in Hawaii, during this period of wartime unrest, is the change in the attitude and outlook of the plantation laborers, as seen by their enthusiastic affiliation with organized labor. The process has been completed almost overnight after years of resistance from plantation owners and managers. To understand the significance of the change of attitude and outlook, the growing feeling of independence among the workers, and the challenging of the inherited tradition of plantation paternalism, it is necessary to review briefly the history of Hawaii in the light of its basic economy.

During the first seventy years of its experience with the Western world, Hawaii figured chiefly as a port of call where Yankee and European traders and whalers could stop for refreshment and supplies on the long trip across the Pacific. During the brief period that the supply in Hawaii lasted, sandalwood was eagerly sought for sale in the Orient. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, a modest beginning was made in the cultivation of Western crops for sale outside of the Islands. With the signing of the reciprocity treaty in 1876 providing for the free entry of sugar into the United States, Hawaii came into its own as a plantation frontier.

The establishment of a large scale agricultural economy based on the two major crops, first sugar and later also pineapple, made it necessary to import labor in large numbers from wherever possible. Immigrants from all over the world were brought to Hawaii to fill this need for unskilled labor. The children and grandchildren remember many accounts of the hardships and struggles of plantation life which have been told and retold by the old folks, but which have not yet found their way into the literature of Hawaii.

Social control of the immigrant laborers by the planters was effected by numerous techniques. Two of the means of social control evolved on the plantations were segregation of the different ethnic groups in camps and the paternalistic care of the workers by the planters. Under the conditions which existed on the plantations in the early days, all the necessities of life for the workers, food, clothing, shelter, and medical care had to be

provided by the planters, if they were to be provided at all. Once established, however, the system of paternalistic care was continued as an effective means of labor control. The system worked to keep the laborers docile and contented and has been effective as a device until fairly recently.

A restiveness about the restrictions imposed by plantation life has been increasingly evident, however, in various developments among the workers both inside and outside the plantations. The very rapid unionization of the workers on the plantations during the past year may be interpreted as evidence of the maturation of this urge for greater independence of action and more participation in the affairs of the plantation community. But because few of the workers have had any real experience in democratic group participation, the union leaders have had a difficult time in overcoming the workers' customary attitudes of unquestioning deference toward the plantation authorities. The typical attitude of the first generation immigrant worker on the plantation has been one of complete docility and quiet acceptance of prevailing conditions. This attitude might be expressed as follows:

As long as you work hard and do what you're supposed to do, the plantation is the best place to be. You don't have to worry about rent, electricity, water, or anything. Your children can get jobs in the fields or mills when they're ready to work. No need worry about the future, the plantation takes care of everything.

The union policy of group unity and racial equality is being spread to the members of the first generation as rapidly as they are able to accept it.

The younger generation have been less satisfied with living conditions and they have voiced their dissatisfaction more freely than their parents. It is only in the last year, however, that a practical way has been found whereby they could organize themselves for the purpose of demanding higher wages and better living conditions.

As a contrast, it is interesting to review an article in the 1940 issue of *Social Process* entitled "Life on a Hawaiian Plantation," based upon an informal interview with a second generation American-born Japanese. The article tells of his ambitions and hopes, and of his subsequent feelings of despair and hopelessness regarding the fulfillment of his dreams.

Sure I want to have a chance to go to the University like you folks to get something out of life—the good things in life, and to know the worthwhile things that make life better. I want to meet the finer people, to go out and see things—you know what I mean

I sure envy you people on the outside. I am 23 years old and have lived around here practically my whole life. I've been brought up with "pines" (meaning pineapples) and cane, and I guess I'll die with them

When I think of my family, I wish I could do something to help them. I hate to think that we are going to live on plantations all our lives. Yes, my parents have been working and slaving in the fields, but they hardly have anything to show for it, except that they have raised us

I remember the first time I went to work. I was just turning fifteen. As soon as the pickers finished a row, they would dump the fruit out of the bags at one end and we would clear off the bottom edges of the pineapple and sort them according to size. We got 15¢ an hour. Day laborers made from 50 to 80 dollars a month

Ten years from now I'll be living the same life of my parents. I hate to think of it. I want to—well, anybody wants to improve. You know that

Today the outlook of the average plantation worker is more optimistic. There appears to be hope interjected in their conversations. Informal chats and interviews by the writer with the workers on one of the plantations revealed a great change in the outlook, particularly of the younger generation, but also of the older generation plantation workers.

A young Japanese worker expressed a different feeling toward "life on the plantation":

We haven't been satisfied with our wages and living conditions on this plantation for a long time, but we couldn't do anything about it. We tried to organize, but we couldn't get ahead because we had no protection or backing from any group. The boss fired anyone who tried to organize the men

I moved to this plantation with my parents when I was nine years old, and as far as I can remember things have always been the same around here—no improvement in the conditions. You can see how old and cramped the houses are. The few nice looking houses you saw on the other side of the camp are for "stooges" and the ones that lead up to the boss' home are for haole workers. The majority of us are union men today. In a few months we're going to have an election and we're pretty sure that the men will vote for the union

The war really helped us to get organized. With the C.I.O. backing us, we didn't have to worry about getting fired. You see, the employer can't fire any worker on union grounds now. Today we can do things in the open, but not before.

The main reason why I joined the union is because I want better pay. Well, you just can't go up to the boss and ask him for a raise or ask for some improvement in your house. It hasn't worked that way and it never will. Sure the boss says we get free house, electricity, water, etc., but we know that all that's taken out of our monthly pay.

A middle aged Hawaiian worker who proudly displayed his

union badge told of his past experiences in the plantation and of his present attitude toward the union.

I been on the plantation 24 years. Look, my house been the same ever since I came here. It's full of cracks. I been asking for repairs for 3 years, but they don't do anything yet. My wife sick, but we don't have toilet. So she has to get up and walk three houses from here and use the neighbor's toilet. You seen our bath house outside, huh? No more hot water. I boil water in the big tin can for my wife

I join union because I think it's good. I want more pay and maybe better house. For 24 years I work and couldn't save any money. All the money goes for rent, food, electricity, etc. The company takes that amount out of our pay check. If you make \$100 a month, the company takes out \$27 for rent. I give up going to see the boss myself, waste time. I join union because I think we get things done.

A young Filipino worker with wife and two children, who has been living on the plantation since 1924, recounted his experience in the following manner:

I came here 1924. I go out cut cane. Today, I still cut cane. I like go back Philippines, but no nuff money yet. I get \$2 a day. Only enough for kaukau. Nowadays, wartime, everything cost high—no can save. My wife work, too. She wash clothes. When she start washing clothes, the company like take rent for her, too. No fair. When they come ask me to join union, quick I join. I think union going help us. In 1924 Filipinos had strike for more pay, but that time only Filipinos strike. This time Filipino, Japanese, Portuguese, all join one union. More better that way.

A middle-aged Portuguese worker who was a leader among the workers had much to say in regard to the plantation system and its paternalism and unionization of the workers.

I'm a mechanic and I make pretty good money, but I joined the union because I want to see all the workers get better pay

Most of the mill workers have joined the union, so now we gotta fight for the field hands. When the "little Wagner Act" goes through the legislature, the field workers will be able to organize, too. But right now, they can't organize because under the Wagner Act, agricultural workers are separated from industrial workers. The farmers on the mainland own small farms, but in Hawaii the agricultural workers on the plantations are just like factory workers. They don't own the land, and they get paid by the hour, and they have to obey the plantation owners. They're not their own boss, so they should be included with industrial workers. The "little Wagner Act" will do that, so that the workers in the field can join the union, too. And I'm pretty sure the bill will pass because we have quite a lot of "our" men in the legislature this time. We really worked hard to get PAC candidates elected. Up until now plantation workers used to vote the way the boss voted, but now they vote for their own candidates. Of course, some of them were still a little afraid that someone might find out how

they voted; but on the whole, they did O.K. Just look at the election results

I think the union is going to get a lot of things done, and it's going to change a lot of things around here. The first thing we had to learn was to work together with other groups. When I first came here, I remember we were all put in different camps—the Japanese in one camp, the Portuguese in another, etc. Every time some kind of trouble began in the Japanese camp, for instance, some fellows would come around our camp to warn us to stay out of the trouble. In 1924 when the Filipinos went on strike, I remember some fellows came around telling us to go to work because we were going to get extra bonus.

Even today we have different camps for Portuguese, Filipinos, Japanese, etc.; and when we first started to organize, there were still some "stooges," but now they don't bother us too much.

When asked how he felt the employers had reacted to this new action on the part of the workers, he said:

Of course, they don't like it, but what can they do? The union men are too strong.

This note of self-confidence is being expressed for the first time by the plantation workers in Hawaii. The complacency and docility which have been characteristic of the workers are gradually being replaced by a new political and social consciousness. We see on the plantations today an aggressive step being taken toward greater independence and economic freedom which is bound to have important repercussions on the plantation social life.

The workers' affiliation with organized labor (C.I.O.) has given them confidence and strength to assert themselves and to express their feelings against the traditional control of the planters. This step means the breakdown of the paternalistic master-servant relationship with the development of a more impersonal industrial Labor-Management relationship.

The union policy of group unity and racial equality which is also being taught by the leaders must have a great influence upon the various ethnic groups and their attitudes toward one another. There is a growing awareness among the workers of the weakness of ethnic group division, such as that which has existed up to now on the plantations. If education by the union along this line is continued with programs fostering positive attitudes among the different groups, it may change the present racial attitudes existing on the plantations and may in turn greatly influence the nature of race relations in Hawaii as a whole.

It is worth our while to extend our vision beyond the Hawaiian plantation and notice similar movements and changes taking place in the world today. Our own situation seems to be a miniature example of greater social changes affecting almost every area on the map. At any rate, the persons identified with the local movement feel that they are at one with the outspoken demand today for economic freedom among many suppressed peoples of the world.

CONSEQUENCES OF EVACUATION OF JAPANESE
AMERICANS FROM THE PACIFIC COAST OF
THE UNITED STATES

JOHN A. RADEMAKER

Legally, evacuation ended when the United States Supreme Court handed down its decisions on the Endo and Korematsu cases on Dec. 18, 1945. The Western Defense Command announced on Dec. 17, 1945 that its orders excluding persons of Japanese ancestry from the Western Defense Command would be cancelled as of Jan. 1, 1945. Legal authority for restricting the movements of persons of Japanese ancestry except by the usual legal procedures of specific charges against specific persons on the basis of legal evidence of criminal action or intent ended, therefore, both practically and theoretically on Jan. 1, 1945. Practically, such specific charges preferred by the War Department in restraining persons of Japanese ancestry from re-entering the Western Defense Command were maintained in force without court review or judgment upon the evidence until the end of the war on August 30, 1945. Shortly thereafter the War Department announced the end of all restrictions upon the movements of persons of Japanese ancestry, citizen and alien.¹

From that day forward, Japanese Americans were once more fully equal before the law in the United States with other citizens and aliens. The legal questions involved in the succession of events which for three and a half years removed them in some respects from that category of equality before the law are discussed elsewhere.² But the social significance and implications of the whole experience also bear some consideration. It is the purpose of this paper to take up briefly some of the results of the experience of evacuation—results to the evacuees, to the West Coast, and to all the people of the United States.

As for the evacuees, their faith in the United States has undergone some rather hard treatment, but for the most part it is still basically intact. The experiences of the past years have disillusioned many a nisei who accepted Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as the practice as well as the spirit of America. But many nisei have learned more about the United States than they ever knew before—or would have known. They are less provincial, more sophisticated, better informed, less naive. They are also more determined to go ahead in the United States, on the whole. The nisei insist on getting out of the centers, on getting back into the stream of the nation's life. They are not likely to accept without reservations any statement of the American creed—nor to stop battling to make the American creed practice as well as precept. Whether they do this in California or Indiana will make little difference. Many a nisei feels that the West Coast holds too many fascists to be a promising place for democracy

to grow. If he goes back, it will be because he knows there are also good, democratic, fair-minded Americans, good climate, and a good soil.

His experience with labor unions has broadened his horizon to a great extent as compared with that of the farmer or retail businessman whose only thought of unions was to stay away from them, or of a craftsman whose only knowledge of unions was the memory that the AFL crafts unions never accepted him as a member except in a segregated, parallel union. Now he knows that unions can be very helpful at times, and very bothersome in some cases. He has tried to avoid being used as scab labor, with only partial success, but with better knowledge and hopes for the future.

He has always known that Japan was going to lose the war. He also feels that now that she has been defeated he will be safer than he ever was in the United States—providing vigilantism does not become the rule rather than the exception. "Back home" still holds its attractiveness for most Japanese Americans, and most will return for a visit to the West Coast sometime in the future, though the majority will not, in all probability, return very soon.

A great dispersion has taken place, and its effects will be permanent in part.³ Many a West Coast Japanese American has become acquainted with the advantages of life in the eastern or middle western part of the United States, and likes it, particularly the relative freedom from discrimination and prejudice in occupational fields. He is likely to refuse to give up this newly found freedom in the Eastern and middle western states for the old limitations of the Pacific Coast with its inescapable discrimination and prejudice in occupational fields, although he may long for the well-known and highly appreciated natural beauty, climate, soil and manners of the old place.

It is to be noted that attitudes toward the Japanese Americans may change in the East and Middle West, once the present labor scarcity disappears. However, it is highly improbable that this will happen in view of the following factors: The number of Japanese Americans is small compared to the total population; few people actually become personally involved in any form of competition with Japanese Americans, so it will be difficult for a public attitude of opposition to develop; the people are used to cosmopolitan and heterogeneous workers and customers; and the economic vested interests involved are all favorable to the Japanese Americans and to the excellent work record of the majority of them. The attitude will continue to be favorable so far as can be predicted at present. Naturally, the basic hostile attitude toward the Japanese people in Japan may be expected to continue for many years, but the Japanese Americans have been so well distinguished from them that there is little likelihood that they will ever be confused again. Meanwhile the Japanese Americans who have migrated there have become

1. San Francisco Chronicle, September 5, 1945, p. 1.

2. Rostow, Eugene V., "Our Worst War-Time Mistake," *Harper's* for September, "The Japanese American Cases—A Disaster," *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (June, 1945).

3. Robert W. O'Brien, "Selective Dispersion as a Factor in the Solution of the Nisei Problem," *Social Forces*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Dec. 1944.

quite well integrated into the rest of the community, except in large centers such as Chicago, where the process is not so well advanced as yet.

The South has accepted the Japanese Americans as of the white caste, in most cases. While hostile demonstrations have taken place, they have usually followed the appearance of some propaganda-bent speaker sent out from California, or have been the result of lack of information on the part of townspeople or officers of the law which has been cleared up since by WRA relocation officers. Of recent months, several promising projects of community relocation in farm areas have been reported, with public opinion apparently remaining, as it always has been, fairly favorable to the Japanese Americans and carefully distinguishing them from "colored people" and from Japanese in Japan.

The Mountain states have shown some antagonism, traceable for the most part to the natural reaction to the Pacific Coast states' demand for evacuation—"If they aren't trustworthy on the Pacific Coast why should we be expected to trust them?" That was a fair question, and the general attitude was that they should not be welcomed in the Mountain states. But sugar beet growers and large farmers of all sorts were desperately short of help, as were lumbering concerns, arsenals, business firms, and everyone else. So, with some reluctance, there were gradual acceptances here and there of workers of Japanese ancestry. They proved to be profitable, reliable workers, for the most part, and employers desired to continue employing them. Some fellow workers and competing firms raised some objections, but these were smoothed out and everything went along well until the Japanese began going into business and farming on their own account. Then the old "bogey" so long heard on the Coast was again raised, especially in Arizona and Colorado, that they were a danger to white supremacy in farming and land-holding. Truth and reason had to struggle in competition with vested interests and competing economic units and were on the whole successful in the combat. This is evidenced by the fact that the Colorado Legislature refused to pass legislation aimed at curbing land holding by American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Other legislation was proposed and passed or defeated in various Mountain states, reflecting a degree of hostility to the Japanese Americans, but there appeared no desire to flout the principles of justice laid down in the Constitution. Defenders of the Japanese Americans were not wanting when the crises came. The concentration of a relatively large Japanese American population in the transition zone of Denver tended to recreate the old "li'l Tokyo" aspect of Japanese American residence in cities of the Coast. In Salt Lake, where for some time little residential discrimination was practiced, the same phenomenon did not occur. Political efforts to establish "exclusion" of Japanese Americans from certain hotels and residential areas followed the visit of some propagandists from California, but the determined efforts of the leaders of the Japanese American Citi-

zens' League and the AJA Army units stationed in Salt Lake City, aided by the church organizations of the state, effectually halted the attempt to spread further efforts to exclude the Japanese Americans from labor unions and certain occupations. Political ambition makes it quite possible for the question to be used to secure office as it was used on the West Coast. Whether it would be an effective issue, however, remains to be seen, for so far candidates who tried to ride the issue were not supported very effectively in the Legislatures nor in elections in which the issue was important. The possibility of the question being used as a political football makes prediction of public opinion somewhat difficult, however.

Recent reports from the Pacific Coast indicate considerable hostility to the returning evacuees. The general public opinion is unfriendly, but at the same time large segments of the public are anxious to see the Constitutional rights of citizens upheld, and the services of veterans and their families recognized. The organization of the groups who are friendly to the evacuees, or determined to defend democracy as a technique of solving the problem of minority rights and interests, is at a more mature stage and of better quality than it was at the beginning of the war. Many organizations and individuals have declared themselves publicly in favor of welcoming the evacuees back, and they have done a great deal to prepare the way for the return of the Japanese Americans, by job offers, establishment of hostels, solving housing problems, and leading public opinion in the direction of tolerance.

On the other hand, a few individuals and organizations have been taking the law into their own hands and seeking to keep the evacuees out by violence, by shooting at them, burning their buildings, and dynamiting their property. After a few months of this the frequency of such acts decreased. When the trials of those who were caught and implicated were held, the convictions obtained were followed by light and suspended sentences. In several cases the defense offered no evidence, the prosecution had a good case, but the jury refused to convict, apparently heeding the defense attorney's argument that California should be kept "white man's country." Such condoning of lynch law may encourage future attacks, or the virulence of such activities may have been exhausted by the 36 cases reported up to July 1, 1945, since there has been a decline in frequency of such incidents thereafter. The struggle to determine public opinion on the West Coast is not yet finished. Conflicting currents are evident. Over 5,000 evacuees have returned to the Coast, and none has as yet been personally injured. Some have found conditions undesirable and have left, but most have stayed on, with considerable encouragement from non-Japanese Americans.

The problem of conciliation of antagonistic attitudes and groups remains. The need to adjust the conflicting interests involved, and to accommodate the wants of the several groups and their objectives, to each other, remains also. The constitutional

and moral right of the evacuees, particularly of those against whom no evidence exists which would cast doubt on their loyalty, to return to their former homes, to their property, and to return to bring to trial those who have defrauded them out of extensive property and income rights, seems clear. It is likely to be supported by the nation at large, though perhaps not by the general public on the West Coast. The reluctance of juries to convict persons who deliberately shot into inhabited houses containing to their knowledge Japanese Americans does not promise well for the prosecution of those who have illegally deprived evacuees of their property. The litigation involved will be considerable, and attorneys will doubtless wrangle long over the outcome. The experience of the WRA property section has been that attorneys on the West Coast are far readier to accept the retainers than they are to press the work involved to secure the rights of the evacuees in court. However, this may easily be the result of the tremendous press of legal work on the Coast, and the inability of most attorneys to do any additional work whatever. When matters settle down a little more, it will be possible to tell. So far court rulings and jury verdicts in the field of property have been eminently fair—much more so than in the case of “hazing” returned evacuees with shotguns and dynamite.

It is necessary to point out that the evacuation of the Japanese Americans and their treatment during the war is a special case of minority treatment, solely because of the long struggle between California and Japan and because of the open hostilities between Japan and the entire United States. Other minorities have been subjected to as much discrimination and prejudicial treatment. But there was neither the extremity of possible treatment facing them as was true of this group who were associated by ancestry with our enemy across the Pacific, nor was there an equally well organized and effective pressure group propaganda against them during the crisis. It is to be noted that few Japanese Americans think of themselves in this light. To them their case is singular and specific; other minorities' problems have little meaning for most of them, although they can readily see that some minorities are treated even worse than they are, except for assembly center and relocation center incarceration. As is common in most groups which feel discrimination, some Japanese Americans project the fault upon others and recover their self-esteem by feeling superior to and by practicing discrimination against other minority groups such as the Negro, the Jew, or the Filipino. Only the leadership is fully awake to the strategic and logical requirements of the situation. But the Japanese Americans demonstrate their basic humanness in this field too—they find it hard to maintain logical consistency in their attitudes and behavior, just as do all human beings.

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE IN HAWAII

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We in Hawaii have watched with interest the inter-racial marriage trends of the different races in our community. For in Hawaii we have diverse peoples from many different parts of the world living closely together in a group of small and isolated islands. Moreover, through historical accident a racial pattern of equality has been built up, so that there is comparative freedom in the inter-mingling of the different peoples of the community; here there is no public denial of political rights and economic or educational privileges on grounds of race, and the social code permits of marriage across race lines.

Because of the physical proximity of the different races, because of the relative tolerance characteristic of the peoples toward other ethnic groups, it was inevitable that one group should influence another, that each group should grow more and more Americanized, that with assimilation should come amalgamation, that amalgamation should grow slowly but increasingly in such a social situation.

The late Dr. Romanzo Adams, author of “Inter-racial Marriage In Hawaii”, in noting the process of assimilation going on among the peoples of Hawaii and the trend toward greater amalgamation, made the statement that within a few generations one half of the population of Hawaii will be of mixed ancestry, and that eventually the various races will be so integrated that a single race with a common way of life will emerge.

While Hawaii is unique in that she has built a social medium which facilitates assimilation of the different peoples and which allows for growth through a slow process of amalgamation, still we must remember that the peoples have different cultures, that change from old to new does not occur overnight in any group, that there is such a thing as ethnocentrism even in Hawaii.

Though each ethnic group with the rise of newer generations has moved steadily, however slowly, toward assimilation, toward Americanization, nevertheless, each also sought to perpetuate its own way of life, to criticize the individual who moved forward too rapidly, to ostracize the individual who married out of his own group. While each group is vociferous in pledging allegiance to the code of racial equality and any public violation of this code is loudly condemned by all, still there is a subtle form of race prejudice, never publicly expressed, but nevertheless held as private opinion, which holds in check the process of assimilation and amalgamation.

Special interest has, therefore, been directed toward the spurt in inter-racial marriages during the recent war years. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, 19 per cent of all marriages

were out-marriages. By June 1944, the rate had jumped to 31 per cent. How are we to account for this wartime phenomenon? What were the conditions making for this sudden increase? How will it affect the process of amalgamation after the abnormal war conditions of the Islands are relieved? How will it affect the process of assimilation? How will it affect race relations in Hawaii in the future?

Shortly after the Pearl Harbor incident in December, 1941, thousands upon thousands of defense workers, soldiers, sailors, and marines were shipped to man this "fortress of the Pacific." This migration made for an overwhelming population of young white males in the territory. At the same time the war promoted the evacuation of many local women to safer regions on the mainland. This move involved mainly the Haole group because they alone had friends or relatives in the continental United States to whom they could turn for refuge.

The war made for the movement of approximately 11,000 Japanese American young men to the mainland for training and later overseas for combat and interpretation duties. Many local boys of other racial extractions, while not affected on so large a scale as the Japanese, were also sent to the United States for training, and many others were sent to different parts of the world for service duties. The result was a further disruption of the already abnormal sex ratios of the islands. Consequently, women of all racial ancestries were at a premium.

The great majority of men were the Haoles, and the great majority of women were those of racial ancestries other than white.

The changes in rate will now be briefly described for each important ethnic group. The Caucasians show significant changes in frequency of out-marriages during the war years. In 1940, 1164 or 76.3 per cent of all Caucasian grooms married Caucasian women. In 1941, the number of in-marriages for the grooms increased to 1187 or 79.7 per cent, but since then the rate has steadily declined to 59.4 per cent in 1944.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Caucasian Grooms in Hawaii

Year	Total No. of Caucasian grooms	No. of out-marriages of Caucasian grooms	Percentage of out-marriages
1940	1526	362	23.7
1941	2241	454	20.3
1942	3159	772	24.4
1943	2200	795	36.1
1944	2091	845	40.4

The reasons for this increase are the influx of great numbers of Caucasian men, the scarcity of white women, the availability of other races in the territory, and the high social status of the Caucasian men in the community.

The picture is quite different for the Caucasian women. The statistics from 1940 to 1944 show a general tendency toward greater in-marriage.

Percentage of In-marriage among Caucasian Brides

Year	Total No. of Caucasian brides	No. of in-marriages of Caucasian brides	Percentage of in-marriages
1940	1370	1164	85.0
1941	2014	1787	88.7
1942	2636	2387	90.5
1943	1583	1405	88.8
1944	1356	1246	91.9

The probable explanation for this tendency is that the Caucasian women had an overwhelming number of potential mates of their own racial group to select from after 1942. Also the Caucasian women were at a premium.

Within the Caucasian group is a sub-group, the Portuguese. In Hawaii, until a few years ago, the Portuguese have been considered a group separate from the other Caucasians, and were listed under separate heading in the vital statistics. Because they were regarded as an out-group by the other Caucasians, because this fact made for restriction in free intimate relations between the two groups, it will probably be in order to discuss the Portuguese marriage trends separately.

Our tabulation of Portuguese marriages from 1940 to 1944 show that the majority of Portuguese brides from 1940 to 1943 were still marrying in; but in 1943 and 1944, a marked change toward greater out-marriage appeared. This shift can best be shown by these figures: 1940, only 139 or 35 per cent of all Portuguese brides married out, but in 1944, the figures jumped to 238 or 57 per cent.

This shift in preference among the Portuguese brides has probably been guided by the following facts:

1. The great number of mainland Haole men, and the relative lack of the other Caucasian women in the territory.
2. The lack of awareness on part of mainland Haoles of the local habit of categorizing the Portuguese as a group distinct from the "upper-class haoles."
3. The physical similarities of both the Portuguese and the Nordic Caucasians, making for easier inter-marriages and "crossing" on the part of the Portuguese.
4. The desire on the part of the Portuguese girls to become identified with the dominant group.

The Japanese brides have also shown an increasing tendency to marry other races. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, only 8.1 per cent of all Japanese brides married out. In 1944 the rate increased to 21.1 per cent. What are the reasons for this increase in rate of out-marriages among a people who were

considered the most conservative and most integrated ethnic group in the Islands?

One important reason is that many potential mates for the Japanese women have volunteered or have been drafted into the Armed Services. Indeed the proportion of Americans of Japanese Ancestry from Hawaii in the armed services is estimated at 60% - 65%, whereas, according to the official estimate of July 1, 1945, persons of Japanese ancestry constituted only 32.5% of the civilian population of the territory. The general policy of the army authorities here has been to transfer the local Japanese boys to camps on the mainland, and thence to the European theater. Therefore, the Japanese girls have particularly suffered from lack of male companionship in their own ethnic group.

Prior to the war Oriental girls had rather limited contacts with the Haole group. Now owing to the abnormal sex ratios in the community, the natural and inevitable consequence is the intermingling of some of the more emancipated Oriental girls with the Caucasian men. And many of these Oriental girls have found the Haole boys more adept in manners, speech and etiquette than the Oriental boys and therefore more attractive.

Another factor contributing to the growth in out-marriages among the Japanese is that the foundation of the Japanese family pattern has undergone a great change during the war. The strict parental authority—the force behind Japanese conservatism—has been greatly weakened and often completely broken down. Because the parents are enemy aliens, the children have been given the leadership in family affairs. The parents have felt that their children, educated in American schools, would know what is best under the trying circumstances. As a consequence of the leadership of the younger generation, many Japanese families are showing greater eagerness to acquire American culture, and to be assimilated.

Among the Hawaiian girls the rate of out-marriage has always been high, but during the past four years the rate increased significantly.

Percentage of Out-marriages for Hawaiian Brides

Year	Total Number Marriages	Number Out-marriages	Percentage Out-marriage
1940	187	128	68.4
1941	241	179	74.2
1942	290	218	75.2
1943	237	171	72.1
1944	234	180	76.8

It is interesting to note that for the years 1940 and 1941, the Hawaiian brides married Part-Hawaiians more frequently than any other racial group when marrying out, but that 1942 to 1944, they married Caucasians most frequently. In 1941, 16 per cent of all Hawaiian brides married Caucasians, while 1942,

the figure jumped to 27 per cent where it has remained during 1944. No doubt, the influx of service men and war workers accounts for the phenomenon.

The Part-Hawaiian group includes Caucasian Hawaiians, Chinese-Hawaiians, Filipino-Hawaiians, Japanese-Hawaiians, Korean-Hawaiians, and Samoan-Hawaiians and three and four way mixtures. Partly because they are already mixed, their out-marriage rate has always been high, but it too has increased.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Part-Hawaiian Brides

Year	Total No. Marriages	Number Out-marriages	Percentage Out-marriages
1940	701	428	61.1
1941	848	518	61.1
1942	1196	754	63.0
1943	992	643	64.8
1944	845	584	69.1

Among the Caucasian-Hawaiian brides an interesting trend can be traced. During the years 1940 and 1941, this group married most frequently within the Part-Hawaiian group. However from 1942 to 1944, there was a shift in preference; the group most favored being the Caucasian group.

Number of Caucasian-Hawaiian Brides
Married to Part-Hawaiians and to Caucasians

Year	Total No. Marriages With Part-Hawaiians	Total No. Marriages With Caucasians
1940	135	134
1941	174	165
1942	255	273
1943	170	226
1944	124	212

The factors making for this shift are: the great influx of Haole men, the fact that many of the Caucasian-Hawaiians have very little native blood in them, being in appearance and in habits more like the Haoles than the Hawaiians and the desire on the part of the Caucasian-Hawaiians for the comparatively higher social status Haoles can offer.

The marriage within their own group on the part of the Chinese brides has steadily declined from 168 or 68 percent of all Chinese brides in 1940 to 183 or 57 percent in 1944. There has also been an increasing tendency for Chinese girls to marry Caucasian men. In 1940 only eighteen or 7 per cent of all Chinese brides married Caucasians, as compared with 73 or 23 per cent in 1944. Again the drafting of Chinese men and their movement over-seas and the increase of available Haole men from the Mainland certainly effected these changes.

The Koreans in Hawaii being a very small group have not been able to maintain their group solidarity as well as the

other Orientals, thus making for a strong tendency toward out-marriages. This is true particularly among the brides; the grooms, like the other Oriental grooms in Hawaii today are more conservative in their marriage selections. The Korean brides at present marry out more frequently than they marry in.

The rate of out-marriages sky-rocketed in 1942 after the outbreak of the war and with the great influx of Haoles from the mainland.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Korean Brides

Year	Total No. Marriages	No. of Out-marriages	Percentage of Out-marriages
1940	90	41	46.6
1941	93	48	51.6
1942	159	105	66.0
1943	151	93	61.6
1944	101	66	65.3

Since the out-break of the war, more Korean brides have married Caucasian men than Korean men.

As with Caucasian women, the statistics for the Filipino women reveal a high in-marriage rate, while the Filipino men's group show a very low in-marriage rate. The reason for this is that there is, and has always been, a great preponderance of Filipino men over Filipino women in Hawaii. But even among the Filipino women, the rate of out-marriage is increasing. From 6.1 per cent (of all Filipino brides) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, the rate has risen to 18.2 per cent in 1944. The brides who marry-out choose more frequently from the Caucasian group than from any other ethnic group.

In all the racial groups except the Caucasians we can trace a general trend of increasing out-marriages among the brides during the war years, while the out-marriage rate among the men lags very much behind. Only the Caucasian and the Filipino men are ahead of their women in the number marrying out, and this is because both groups have many more men in Hawaii than marriageable women. The out-marriage rates of the males have not changed greatly during the war, even for the Filipinos.

Percentage of Out-marriage for Males of the Different Races

Race	1940			1944		
	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.
Haw'n	158	99	62.7	110	56	50.9
Part Haw'n	471	198	42.0	469	208	44.3
Caucasian	1526	362	23.7	2091	745	35.6
Chinese	240	72	30.0	262	79	30.2
Filipino	407	193	47.4	532	227	42.7
Japanese	1293	53	4.1	1227	46	3.7
Korean	90	20	22.2	54	19	35.2

Percentage of Out marriage for Females of Different Races

Race	1940			1944		
	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.
Haw'n	187	128	68.4	234	180	77.9
Part-Haw'n	701	428	61.1	845	584	69.1
Caucasian	1340	176	13.1	1356	110	8.1
Chinese	246	78	31.7	322	139	43.2
Filipino	228	14	6.1	373	68	18.2
Japanese	1342	102	7.6	1492	311	20.8
Koreans	90	41	45.6	101	66	65.3